





THE
ROMAN
HISTORY,

FROM THE
Building of the City,

To the Perfect

Settlement of the EMPIRE,

& — BY *M.*
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

Containing the Space of 727 Years.

Design'd as well for the Understanding of
the *Roman* Authors, as the *Roman* Affairs.

By **LAURENCE ECHARD, A. M.**
of *Christ-College, in Cambridge.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for *M. Gillyflower*, in *Westminster-Hall*;
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yard; and *R. Parker*, at the *Unicorn* under the
Royal-Exchange in *Cornhill.* MDCXCV.

ROMAN

LISTORY

Building of the City



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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir *John Sommers*, K^t.

Lord Keeper of the Great Seal
of *England*, and one of His
Majesty's most Honourable
Privy-Council.

May it please Your Lordship,

HAVING undertaken to collect a
short Account of the *Roman*
Affairs, I here presume to
present it to Your Lordship; and were
the *Performance* in any degree answer-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

able to the Nobleness of the *Subject*, and the Greatness of Your Lordship's Skill in this, as well as in all the politer Parts of Learning, I might justly hope to find it in some measure acceptable. But how mean soever the *Performance* is, I have still some fair Prospect of the *Design*; and I was almost assur'd, from Your Lordship's generous Inclinations, to promote the best and most useful Parts of Learning, that *such a Design*, cou'd not, by any other Means, be so acceptable to the *Publick*, as by having the Advantage of Your Lordship's Name before it.

My Lord, I cannot pretend to any such Knowledge of the Law, as to understand which is the surest Method of attaining to Perfection in it. But, as I am inform'd, some lay their Foundation in the ancient Histories
of

The Epistle Dedicatory.

of the *Saxons, Danes, and Normans*: Others, I am told, only by the *Way of Institutes, Reports, and Statutes*, arrive to a considerable Fame and Practice. But some there are, whose generous Industry carries 'em yet further, who think it necessary to spend some time in the *Roman History, Classical Authors, Civil Law*, and the *Pleadings of Cicero*. And, I need not go about to acquaint the World, That Your Lordship's Excellency in all these, together with Your great natural Endowments, and answerable Improvements, did not only give Your Lordship very high Advantages over Others, at Your first Appearance, but in a very short time rais'd You to the highest Dignity in the *Law*, and the utmost Favour of the greatest Prince in the World,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

This Hint, my Lord, is not so much to celebrate the singular Prudence and Justice of His Majesty, in advancing Your Lordship to this most honourable Station, as to shew the World what peculiar Reason I had to offer this humble Address, and how ambitious I was of appearing,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most humble, obedient,

and devoted Servant,

Laurence Echard.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THERE are requir'd so many Qualifications and Accomplishments in an Historian, and so much Care and Niceness in writing an History, that some reckon it one of the most difficult Labours that Human Nature is capable of. And this seems the more probable from the small Number of good Histories that ever yet appear'd in the World. Even the principal Writers of the Roman History, who are doubtless as excellent as any in the World, have not been free from Faults, or at least from Criticks, who have been very ready to make their several Remarks upon 'em. Polybius, say they, is a very good Author, but is too much addicted to Preaching. Dionysius Hal. is a very great Critick, but too morose, and may rather be plac'd among the Writers of Antiquities than History. Diodorus Siculus spends too much
time

The PREFACE.

time in Fables, and is not free from trifling, and has but little of the Roman Affairs. Dion Cassius, they look upon to be fickle, partial, a great Flatterer, and as great a Reviler. Appian is very well for Military Discipline, but is often out in the Roman Affairs. Caesar only wrote of some of his own Matters, and was so Modest and Just as not to call his Book History, but Commentaries. Neither will Plutarch nor Suetonius go for Historians, they being only Biographers. Livy, say they, is indeed a great Man, but he is a little too verbose and circumstantial, and too much given to Prodigies and Patavinity. Salust is blam'd for his Preface, which, they say, is not only large enough for the History of the World, but might as well stand before any other Book whatsoever. And something they have to say of all the rest, which I need not trouble the Reader withal.

But notwithstanding these several Censures, most of these Authors are very extraordinary in their kind, and for the most part are excellent Patterns to imitate; if it be done with Judgment. But how extraordinary soever they are, they are either all Fragments, or else so unfinish'd, that a compleat Body of the
Roman

The PREFACE.

Roman History, for six or seven hundred Years, can never be got out of any one of 'em. So that he, who expects to have any tolerable Account of the Roman Affairs, for so long a time, from old Writers, must, besides his understanding the Latin and Greek Tongues, put himself to a considerable Expence both of Money and Time; except he will content himself with that little he can learn from Florus, and such other immethodical and imperfect Epitomes. This Consideration is sufficient to vindicate my Design, in this following Collection; and I know none which is of it self more useful for Young Scholars or Gentlemen, or perhaps more delightful. There never was any thing of this kind in our Language before, nor any thing relating to the Roman Affairs, but either what has been intermix'd with much more other History, or what has contain'd but a few Years of this Part. Of these I find none of any Note besides Rawleigh, Ross, Howel, the Author of the History of the two Triumvirates, and Pedro de Mexia, Author of the Imperial History; the two last of which are Translations.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Account of the Romans, begins at the Building of the City, but

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The PREFACE.

contains but 586 Years, ending at the second Macedonian War: And tho' it cannot be deny'd but the last hundred Years is writ with a great deal of Spirit and Judgment, and all of it with a great deal of Skill and Clearness; yet, besides the Inconveniency of being so intermix'd with other Matters, all before the first Punick War, bear no manner of Proportion with the rest, as to Length. Ross carries on Sir Walter's Design, but after such a disproportionate Manner, either for Length or Vigour, that I need not say any more of him. Howel is much more exact, both for Method and Proportion in the Roman History, than Sir Walter, and does not only continue it as far as this goes, but above 300 Years further; which he has done with wonderful Pains and Industry. Yet notwithstanding all his Method, he has not justly proportion'd his Matter; his 57 Years Period, after the Expulsion of the Kings, is too long for the rest of his History; many memorable Actions, between that and the first Triumvirate, are too short; the first Triumvirate it self is too long in his second Edition, and too short in the first; and the second Triumvirate is too short in both. Besides, he is often too flat and insipid to affect

The PREFACE.

fect us thoroughly, and the Actions of the bravest Men are related too coldly and unconcern'dly to move us as they ought; which, together with his frequent Want of Transitions and Words of Connection, and his often mixing of critical Learning, makes him far less pleasant than otherwise. And what still adds to these Imperfections, is the Obscurity of his Stile, which proceeds sometimes from his unlucky or unnatural Misplacing of his Words, and sometimes from his affecting a Shortness, without thoroughly considering and pre-observing the Dangers that attend that useful Way of Writing. His Collections indeed are admirable, both for their Usefulness and Exactness; his Decisions very just and faithful; and his Learning very uncommon and curious: In short, we may say, that no Man ever more truly and carefully brought together the principal Matters of all the Roman Historians, than he; and that he was an incomparable Collector and Compiler, tho' at the same time he was but an indifferent Historian.

I fear I have been too long upon this last, but still I must beg the Reader's leave to consider the two remaining. The History of the two Triumvirates is a Translation from the

The PREFACE.

the French, and contains only 30 Years, but of the busiest Time of the Common-wealth. It is a History very ingeniously writ, handsomely put together, and faithfully collected; and is far more pleasant and palatable than Howel's. Yet as few Years as it contains, it is manifestly too tedious in many Places, which is occasion'd sometimes from the natural Verboseness of the French Temper, and sometimes from the Author's descending too particularly to the lesser and more private Actions of Mankind; which makes him fall from the Majesty of a Historian to that of a Biographer. And, notwithstanding his being so very particular, he has wholly left out all Cæsar's Wars with the Gauls, which gain'd him so much Glory and Reputation, and was the Original of all his future Greatness. Pedro de Mexia, is a Translation from the Spanish, and contains the Lives of all the Roman and German Emperors to his own Time, which plainly shews him a Biographer; tho', besides, he has many good Marks of a Historian. He begins almost at the latter end of this History, and in effect contains not much more than 33 Years of it; and in that short Space he is extreamly imperfect in one of the most principal Actions of the

The PREFACE.

the Roman History, namely, the Settlement of the Roman Empire by Augustus.

After all this, I suppose it will be expected that my own Piece is every way faultless, and has all the Perfections that can be desir'd from a Book of this Size or Proportion; but I will not be so foolishly vain as to pretend to that; I can only say, that I have endeavour'd to avoid the Defects and Faults I have here taken notice of, and likewise to imitate their Excellencies, especially those of the Ancients, as far as the Compass I have taken wou'd admit of, which has been a severe Curb to me. But to come closer to the Matter, it will be convenient to let the Reader know, in short, what he is to expect from this Book. It is an intire, tho' short, Account of the Roman Affairs, for 727 Years, in which Compass of Time, the most memorable things were Acted, and the most famous of the Classiical Authors flourish'd. It is collected with what Fidelity I cou'd use from almost all the Roman Historians whatsoever, but more especially from these seven most noted, Dionysius Hal. Livy, Plutarch, Polybius, Dion Cassius, Appian, and Cæsar. I found it very inconvenient to crowd the Margent of every Page with these and many other Names,

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The P R E F A C E.

as many do ; but, when it is needful, I quote 'em in the Body of the Book, particularly when any uncommon Story is related, or any doubtful Point is to be decided. I have likewise been oblig'd to some of our Modern Writers, but to none so much as Howel, and the History of the two Triumvirates, both whose accurate Collections have often sav'd me much Trouble, tho' I examin'd the Originals from whence they had 'em. Upon that Account I have copy'd 'em in many Places, and that too almost verbally ; whenever I found it both for the Ease of my self and the Advantage of my Book : For I am never cautious in Borrowing, as long as I acknowledge it, and can benefit my Reader, whose Good I always study before my own Commendation.

The Method of the whole I have endeavour'd to make as easie and as natural as I cou'd, dividing and distinguishing the Books, Chapters, and Sections, with all the Skill and Judgment I had ; so that I hope it will be all of it clearly comprehended, and the principal Matters as easily remember'd. Nothing is more necessary than convenient resting Places for a Reader to take Breath at ; and the want of this or the like Method will appear apparently in

The PREFACE.

in any Man's reading over Livy. For tho' the Regal State may there be clearly enough comprehended, by reason of the Nature of the Subject; yet the vast Variety of the Matter that follows, will not be master'd and retain'd without toiling and sweating: For it is a great Inconvenience when the Reader must separate and distinguish the Matter, where the Author has not done it: Then to make it still more Clear, I have all the way intermix'd so much Chronology and Geography, as is necessary to illustrate the Story.

As for the Stile, I have made it as plain and intelligible as I cou'd; and as I have no ways affected Flourishes and the French Finery, so for the most part I have avoided all Meanness of Words or Expressions, endeavouring in some measure to preserve the Gravity which belongs to History, and which ought not to be omitted in a Collection: Yet I must acknowledge, that I have bestow'd too little Pains in the perfecting of the Stile in some places; at least not so much as I shou'd have done, had it been a Translation of any ancient Author; I mean as to the Niceties of our Tongue, and the Perfection of Periods. The Speeches are generally the most carefully done, tho' I cou'd scarce take any verbally, by
reason

The PREFACE.

reason of the little Compass I was allow'd: And upon that account I was forc'd in some places to follow their Sence at a distance, which some over nice will scarcely allow to a faithful Historian. And this little Compass likewise hinder'd me from having all the Transitions I cou'd have desir'd, tho' those are the principal Beauties belonging to the Way and Manner of writing Historical Matters.

To come to the Use of this Book; It will be particularly useful to Young Students and Gentlemen, by giving 'em an Insight into the principal of the Roman Customs, Laws, and Magistrates; I mean such of 'em as cannot be so clearly learnt from Rosinus, and Books of mere Antiquities. It is the Historical Account of all the various Occasions and Circumstances that can best clear some of these things. The Tribunes of the People may serve for one Instance of this; for no Man can thoroughly understand the Nature of those Magistrates, without reading the History of their Creation, and likewise their chief Actions afterwards. And still that this Book might be as compleat as I cou'd make it, I have at the most convenient Places intermix'd the History of the Roman Learning, and given a short Account of all the Prin-

THE PREFACE.

Principal Authors as far as this History reaches. But still I have taken care to joyn all this to the rest, so that both might make but one entire Body.

But to shew more noble Uses of this Book, and that I may incite all Gentlemen to be well acquainted with the Roman History, of which this is an Introduction, I shall give 'em the sence of what a very Ingenious Man says upon upon this Subject. It is the Story of the Fate and Fortunes of a City that rais'd it self to an universal Empire, and became the Metropolis of the whole World; and all from a Troop of Vagabond Shepherds, pack'd together upon the Banks of Tiber. It is a long Train of the Adventures of a People scandalous as it were in their Origine, coming of an Extraction in a manner Infamous, born and nurs'd up in Plunderings and Murders, and train'd up in Villanies; who became Wise, Frugal, Just, Passionately studious of Glory, till they infinitely over-topp'd the rest of Mankind: A People whose Prudence in their Counsels, whose Maturity of Deliberations, whose Diligence in Execution, whose profound Secrecy in the most important Affairs, and whose noble Resolution in unavoidable Dangers, and the greatest Extremities, ought to be remember'd to all Ages.

The PREFACE.

It is a History of a State that grew so mighty from so small Beginnings, of its Progress, its strange Changes, its Revolutions of its Power and Greatness, its amazing Exaltation, and its miraculous and almost unconceivable Pitch of Glory it arriv'd at; and all by its patient enduring of Hardships, by its Perseverance in Labours, by its exact Observation of Laws, by the inviolable Severity of its Discipline in the Duties of Peace and War, and by training up a well regulated and courageous Soldiery, encourag'd and elevated with the sole Prospect of aggrandizing the Roman Name. It was a Nation that was Virtuous through a true Principle of Honour; whose Valour was more the Product of the Head than Heart; a Nation that courted or avoided Danger, from a result of Prudence, and knew as well when to expose it self, as when to retreat, by the Dictates of Reason; and obtain'd the Sovereignty over the rest of the World, more by the Reputation of its Virtue, than the Force of its Arms.

THE

THE
CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

The Regal State of Rome,

**From the Building of the City, to the
Overthrow of that Kind of Government.**

Containing the space of 245 Years.

THE INTRODUCTION: *Of the
Original of Rome, and its Inhabi-
tants.*

CHAP. I. *From the Building of the City, to the
Death of Romulus, the first King of Rome:
Containing the space of 37 Years.*

CHAP. II. *From the Death of Romulus, to the
Death of Numa Pompilius, the second King
of Rome: Containing 44 Years.*

CHAP. III. *From the Death of Numa, to the
Death of Tullus Hostilius, the third King of
Rome: Containing 33 Years.*

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. IV. *From the Death of Hostilius, to the Death of Ancus Marcius, the fourth King of Rome: Containing 24 Years.*

CHAP. V. *From the Death of Ancus Marcius, to the Death of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of Rome: Containing 38 Years.*

CHAP. VI. *From the Death of Tarquinius Priscus, to the Death of Servius Tullius, the sixth King of Rome: Containing 44 Years.*

CHAP. VII. *From the Death of Servius Tullius, to the Banishment of Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh King of Rome; which caus'd the Dissolution of the Regal State: Containing 25 Years.*

BOOK II.

The Consular State of Rome,

From the Beginning of that Government, to the Ruine of it by the first Triumvirate.

Containing the space of 449 Years.

CHAP. I. *From the Banishment of the last King, to the first Dictator; which was the first Intermision of the Consular Power: Containing 10 Years.*

CHAP.

THE CONTENTS.

CHAP. II. *From the Creation of the first Dictator, to the great Retrenchment of the Consular Power by the Tribunes of the People: Containing 5 Years.*

CHAP. III. *From the Creation of the Tribunes of the People, to the second Intermission of the Consular Power by the Decemviri: Containing 42 Years.*

CHAP. IV. *From the Creation of the Decemviri, to the third Intermission of the Consular Power by the Military Tribunes: Containing 8 Years.*

CHAP. V. *From the Creation of the Military Tribunes, to the Burning of Rome by the Gauls; which almost ruin'd the Roman Nation: Containing 54 Years.*

CHAP. VI. *From the Burning of Rome by the Gauls, to the Wars with the Samnites; when the Romans began much to extend their Conquests: Containing 46 Years.*

CHAP. VII. *From the first Wars with the Samnites, to the Wars with Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, the first Foreigner they had to deal with; wherein the Romans began to learn the Arts of War: Containing 63 Years.*

CHAP. VIII. *From the Beginning of the Wars with Pyrrhus, to the first Punick or Carthaginian War; when the Romans first set foot out of Italy: Containing 16 Years.*

CHAP. IX. *From the Beginning of the first Punick War, to the Beginning of the second; the Romans now growing Powerful by Sea,*

27 The CONTENTS.

as well as by Land: Containing 47 Years.

CHAP. X. *From the Beginning of the second Punick War, to the finishing of it by Scipio Africanus; when the Romans became perfect in the Arts of War: Containing 17 Years.*

CHAP. XI. *From the end of the second Punick War, to the end of the third, and the Destruction of Carthage; when Rome got clear of all her Rival States: Containing 35 Years.*

CHAP. XII. *From the Destruction of Carthage, to the end of the Sedition of the Gracchi; which much shook the Government, and was the first Step to the Ruine of the Consular State: Containing 23 Years.*

CHAP. XIII. *From the End of the Sedition of the Gracchi, to the End of the first Civil War in Italy, and to the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla; which was the second great Step to the Ruine of the Consular State: Containing 41 Years.*

CHAP. XIV. *From the Perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla, to the first Triumvirate, namely, Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus; which prov'd the Ruine of the Consular State, and was the first Step to the setting up of the Imperial: Containing 22 Years.*

BOOK

THE CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

The Mix'd State of Rome,

From the Beginning of the first Triumvirate,
to the perfect Settlement of the Roman
Empire.

Containing the space of 33 Years.

CHAP. I. *From the Beginning of the first Triumvirate, to the Death of Crassus, one of the Combination; which broke and divided that Party: Containing 7 Years.*

CHAP. II. *From the Death of Crassus, to the Death of Pompey; which made way for Cæsar's Absolute Authority, and was the second Step to the Imperial State: Containing above 5 Years.*

CHAP. III. *From the Death of Pompey, to the Death of Cæsar; which finish'd the first Triumvirate, but still kept down the Consular State: Containing 4 Years.*

CHAP. IV. *From the Death of Cæsar, to the Defeats and Deaths of Brutus and Cassius, by the second Triumvirate, Octavius, Anthony, and Lepidus; which ruin'd the Remains of the Common-wealth: Containing above 2 Years.*

CHAP. V. *From the Deaths of Brutus and Cassius, to the Banishment of Lepidus; which*
vary'd

The CONTENTS.

*vary'd the Course of the Triumvirates Power :
Containing 6 Years.*

CHAP. VI. *From the Banishment of Lepidus,
to the Death of Anthony ; which made way
for Octavius's absolute Authority ; and was the
last Step to the Imperial State : Containing 6
Years.*

CHAP. VII. *From the Death of Anthony, to
the perfect Settlement of the Empire by Octa-
vius ; which ended all Disturbances , and
brought Rome to its utmost Glory : Con-
taining 3 Years.*

ERRATA.

These few Faults the Reader is desir'd to cor-
rect before he reads the Book.

Pag. 21. line the last, for *Ancilia*, read *Ancilia*. p. 43. l. 6. for
847000, r. 84700. p. 227. l. 30. for *Padua*, read *Pydna*.

THE

THE
Roman History.

BOOK I.

*The Regal State of ROME,
From the Building of the City, to
the Overtbrow of that Kind of
Government.*

Containing the Space of 245 Years.

The INTRODUCTION.

Of the Original of Rome, and its Inhabitants.

I. IN relating such great and remarkable Affairs as those of the *Romans*, it will be necessary to give some Account of the Original of that People: And, to make the Account as clear and intelligible as I can, it may not be amiss first to observe, That that Country which was anciently call'd *Italy*, of which *Rome* was afterwards the chief City, did not contain above one half of what now goes by that Name. But as small as it was, it contain'd many distinct Nations and People; the principal of which were the *Aborigines*, *Sabines*, *Hetrurians*

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trurians or *Tuscans*, *Umbri*, *Samnites*, *Campani*, *Apulii*, *Calabri*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*; and others of inferior Note which were often dependant on these. As for the rest of what is now call'd *Italy*, that was mostly possess'd by the *Gauls*, who had driven out the *Henri-ans*, and settl'd themselves in these Parts; being distinguish'd into several Names, as the *Senones*, the *Insubres*, &c. This Part went by the Name of *Gallia Cis-Alpina* and *Togata*, to distinguish it from that *Gaul* which is now call'd *France*, and was almost the same with the present *Lombardy*: The chief Inhabitants of it, besides the several Nations of the *Gauls*, were the *Ligures* and the *Veneti*.

Of all the foremention'd People, the *Aborigines*, afterwards call'd by the Name of *Latines*, were of principal Note; not upon the account of any particular Excellency, but as being better known, and much more enquir'd after by all Historians. These were of the Posterity of the *Oenotrians*, a *Grecian* People of *Arcadia*, who had driven out the *Siculi*, the first Inhabitants of these Parts of *Italy*. They possess'd the Country of *Latium*, a small Country along the River *Tiber*, about 30 Miles in length, and 16 in breadth, containing nigh a fourth Part of that little Province in the Popes Dominions now called *Campagna-di-Roma*. We find these govern'd by their own Kings nigh 200 Years before the destruction of *Troy*, and above 1300 before *Christ*; the first Kings we hear of in *Italy*, or in all *Europe*, except *Greece*. These Kings kept their Courts at *Laurentum*, a City about 5 Miles off the Mouth of the River *Tiber*; and were Governors of a mixt People: For first, some *Pelasgians* out of *Thessaly* settl'd among 'em; soon after, *Saturn* from *Creet*, who fled from his Son *Jupiter*, which occasion'd their changing of their Names to *Latines*, a *latendo* from his lying hid there; next *Ewander* from *Arcadia*, then *Hercules* from *Greece*, with their several Followers.

But

Old Latini.

Latini.

But the last who settled in this Country, were some Relicks of the *Trojans*, under the Conduct of their Prince *Aneas*, who had fled from his native Country, and his intrag'd Enemies, to seek out Foreign Habitations. These were about 1200 in all, tho' some will allow but half that Number; and arriv'd in these Parts three Years after the destruction of *Troy*, and above 400 before the building of *Rome*, A. M. 2824. *Aneas* at his first landing, was very civilly entertain'd by *Latinus*, the present King, as a Person of great Renown, who not only treated him honourably, but gave him his only Daughter *Lavinia* in Marriage. This occasion'd a War between him and *Turnus*, a Prince of the *Rutuli*, their near Neighbours, who had formerly made Pretensions to her; but these Wars soon ended in *Turnus's* death, which did not only free *Aneas* from a Rival, but secur'd his Kingdom, which *Latinus* gave him for his Daughters Portion after his decease. *Aneas* thus settled, soon after built the City of *Lavinium*, in honour of his Wife, about five or six Miles East of *Laurentum*, where he kept his Court; and the more to oblige his Subjects, caus'd both them and his own Country-men to be call'd by the common Name of *Latini*; but ingaging in a bloody War with *Mexentius*, a King of the *Hertrurians*, he was slain, after a short Reign of four Years. His Subjects, in honour to his Memory, dedicated a Chappel to him, under the Title of *Jupiter Indiges*. *Jupiter Indiges.*

Upon the death of *Aneas*, his Son *Ascanius* succeeded him in the Throne; but *Lavinia*, being left with Child by him, out of fear fled to the Woods, and was there deliver'd of a Son, who from the Place of his Birth had the Name of *Sylvius*. Thirty Years after the building of *Lavinium*, *Ascanius* left it to his Mother-in-Law, and founded *Alba-Longa*, about 12 Miles North of it, which he made his Seat. *Ascanius* had a Son call'd *Iulus*, from whom came the fa-

Julii.

mous Family of the *Julii*; this Son after his Mother's Death, contended with *Sylvius* for the Kingdom, but the People, judging that to belong to *Latinus's* Race, gave the Kingdom to *Sylvius*, and the Priesthood to *Iulus*, in whose Family it thenceforth continu'd. After *Sylvius*, succeeded 13 Kings of the same Race, for nigh 400 Years, who all had their Seats at *Alba*, and many of them likewise had the Name of *Sylvius*: They were as following; *Aeneas Sylvius*, who reign'd 31 Years, *Latinus* reign'd 51, *Alba* 39, *Capetus I.* 26, *Capys* 28, *Capetus II.* 13, *Tiberinus* 8, *Agrippa* 24, *Alladius* 19, *Aventinus* 37, *Procas* 23, *Amulius* 42, and *Numitor*, who was the last King of *Alba*. Setting aside the two last, we have but little remarkable concerning these Kings, only *Tiberinus* gave Name to the River *Tiber*, by being drown'd in it, it being before call'd *Albula*; and *Aventinus* gave Name to the *Aventine*, one of the seven Hills of *Rome*.

Tiber.

Aventine.

New Latium.

These were call'd the Kings of *Alba*, or of Old *Latium*, which scarce contain'd the sixth part of what was call'd *Latium* in *Augustus's* Reign; which comprehended not only the Old *Latini*, but also the *Rutili*, *Aequi*, *Hernici*, *Volsci*, and *Arunci*. This Kingdom, tho' very Small, according to the Dimensions before given of it, was very Fruitful, Populous, and full of Towns; and *Alba* it self was a great and flourishing City, and had been the Mother of thirty *Latine* Towns, when it was destroy'd by *Tullus Hostilius* the third King of *Rome*.

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3209

II. But to come close to the *Roman Story*, *Amulius* and *Numitor*, the two last of these Kings, were Brothers; and it was agreed between 'em, that *Numitor* the Eldest, should have the Kingdom, and *Amulius* the Treasure and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. But Money having the Advantage of meer Authority, *Amulius* soon got his Brother out of his

his Kingdom ; and, to secure it to himself against the Pretensions of his Posterity, caus'd his Son *Lausus* to be Murther'd in a pretended Hunting, and his Daughter *Rhea* to be made a *Vestal* Virgin. In the fourth Year of her Priesthood, going to fetch Water, she was met and ravish'd by some Lover, or probably by *Amulius* himself, rather, as was supposed, to serve his other Designs, than to gratifie his Lust. But for the Honour of the Cause, the Fact was laid upon *Mars*, in whose Grove it was committed, who came to her, as they will have it, in a terrible Manner with Thunder and Lightning. *Rhea* proving with Child, was deliver'd of two Boys, and thereupon was condemn'd to Death, or perpetual Imprisonment, and her Children were thrown into the River. But the Wind and Stream were both so favourable, that at the fall of the Water, they were left safe upon dry Ground, and there happily found by *Faustulus*, *Amulius's* Herds-Man, and suckled by his Wife *Laurentia*, who, for her Infamous Life, was call'd *Lupa*; and this probably might occasion the famous Story of their being nourished by a *Wolf*. The Names of these Twins were *Romulus* and *Remus*.

The Children, grown up, prov'd Active and Courageous, suitable to the Greatness of their Birth ; but the Meanness of their Education gave 'em occasion of falling out with some of *Numitor's* Herds-Men ; in which contest *Remus* was taken Prisoner, and brought before the King. Upon which *Faustulus* discovered to *Romulus* all the Particulars of his Birth and hard Usage from *Amulius*; begging him to be assistant in the Rescue of *Remus*. *Romulus* soon drew together a great Number of Herds-Men and inferiour People, who hated *Amulius*, which he divided into Companies, consisting of an hundred Men each ; every Captain carrying a small Bundle of Grass and Shrubs ty'd to a Pole. The *Latines* call such Bundles *Manipuli* ; from whence it is, that in their Ar-

*Manip-
lares.*

mies they call their Captains *Manipulares*. *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making Attacks from without, *Amulius* not knowing what Expedient to think of for his Security, in that Amazement and Distraction, was taken and slain; the Brothers settling their Grand-Father *Numitor* in his Throne, after he had been depos'd forty two Years.

A. M.
3251.

III. Affairs thus settled at *Alba*, the Young-Men Ambitious of Glory, were desirous of Founding a City in the Place where they were brought up; which Design was approv'd of by their Grand-Father, who appointed 'em Land, with such of his Subjects as he knew were of his Brother's Faction; and likewise gave free Liberty to all others who were willing to settle themselves in this new Colony. Most of the *Trojans* came in (of which there remain'd fifty Families in *Cæsar's* Time) and also all the Inhabitants about the *Palatine-Hill*, where the City was built, which was about 14 Miles North-West of *Alba*, upon the River *Tyber*. For the more speedy carrying on this Work, the People were divided into two Parts, who were to work by way of Emulation: But what was design'd for a considerable Advantage, prov'd a greater Inconveniency; for it gave birth to two Factions, whereof one preferr'd *Romulus* and the other *Remus*; and this swell'd 'em with the ambitious Desires of Preeminence. This soon appear'd in their Disagreement about the Place of Building, *Romulus* contending for the *Palatine*, where they were brought up, and *Remus* for the *Aventine-Hill*. Upon which, the Matter was brought before their Grand-Father *Numitor*, who advis'd 'em both to go apart, and observe the flying of Birds; and the most Fortunate of the two should be counted the Founder of the Colony. They both took their Stations upon their own Hills; and *Remus* first had a flight of 6 Vultures, but

but *Romulus* having, or pretending to have, double the Number, both were saluted King. This widened the Breach, and the Contention grew so hot as to come to a Battel, wherein *Remus* was worsted and slain, with several others, particularly *Faustulus* and his Brother *Plutinus*. But it is likewise said, that before the Battel, *Remus* gave his Brother great Provocations, particularly by leaping over his Wall, to ridicule him for the Lowness of it.

Romulus, now sole Commander, and eighteen Years of Age, began the Foundation of *Rome* in the fourth Year of the sixth Olympiad, according to *Varro's* Account, which was in the Year of the World 3252, the sixth Year of *Jotham*, King of *Judah*, and the seventh of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, 431 Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, 120 after the Building of *Carthage*, 214 before the Beginning of the *Persian* Empire, and 752 before *Christ*; And having got *Augurs*, and such sort of People from *Hetruria*, he set about it with a great deal of Ceremony, on the 21 Day of *April*, according to *Plutarch*, which Day the *Romans* Anniversarily kept Holy, calling it their Country's Birth-Day. He took in the Mount *Palatine* only, and with a Heifer and a young Bullock, plow'd up a Furrow where the Wall was design'd; which Custom was afterwards observ'd by the *Romans*, both in the Building and razing of Cities; and wherever a Gate was to be made, the Plow was lifted up, which occasion'd it to be call'd *Porta*, a portando aratrum: All within this Line was call'd *Pomærium*, from *Pomærium*. *Post-Murum*, or *Pone Mœnia*. The City was almost square, containing at first about 1000 Houses, and was nigh a Mile in Compass, having likewise four Gates, namely *Romanula*, *Janualis*, *Mucionis* and *Carmentalis*; having likewise a small Territory belonging to it of seven or eight Miles long.

Thus we see *Rome* in its Original, a small inconsiderable beggarly Place, with Dominions still of less

Note ; which yet from this mean and contemptible Beginning became Mistress of the World ; being first founded and supported by its *Kings*, then strengthened and enlarg'd by its *Consuls*, and at last brought to its utmost Perfection by its *Emperors*. As for the Arts and Contrivances, the Policy and Cunning, the Strength and Valour, and the gradual Proceedings, with the extraordinary Fortune, which contributed to make the *Romans* Masters of such vast and powerful Dominions, these are the Subject of this following *History*.

CH A P I.

From the Building of the City, to the Death of Romulus, the first King of Rome.

Containing the space of 37 Years.

U. C.
I.
King.

I. **R**omulus having Founded the City of Rome, by his Grand-Father's Advice, left the Choice of the Government to the People, who immediately made him *King* ; and he receiving it as a Gift from them, his Power became the more plausible and undisputable. The Number of the Colony consisted of about 3000 Foot, and 300 Horse ; and the first Method he made use of to increase this Number was his Building a Temple to the *Asylean* God, which he made a Sanctuary to all Malefactors and discontented Persons, who thereupon came in great Numbers from all the Neighbouring Parts. The People he divided into three Parts, which were called *Tribes*, that is to say *Thirds* ; and each *Tribe* was divided into ten *Curia*, which were much the same as our *Parishes*, as the *Tribes* were like our *Wards* ; each *Curia* having its proper Temple and Sacrifices, and a Priest call'd

Curio

*Tribe.
Curia.*

Curio over it, and over all an Arch-Priest call'd *Curio Maximus*. Each *Curia* was by *Romulus* subdivided into ten *Decuria*, over which were appointed distinct *Decuria* Officers. According to the number of the *Curia*, he divided the Lands into thirty Parts, reserving one Portion for Publick Use, and another for Religious Ceremonies. In all Matters of Importance, for many Years, the People gave their Votes according to the *Curia*, and what the major Part of the *Curia* agreed to, was reckon'd the Resolution of the whole Assembly, each single Man having a Vote; and this made the *Comitia Curiata*.

*Comitia
Curiata.*

Romulus made also another Distinction of the People, according to their Honour and Dignity, which was into *Patritians* and *Plebeians*: The former, as being older and more nobly descended, were to take care about the Religious Rites, bear Offices of Magistracy, administer Justice, and be assistant to the King in his Government: The latter to till the Fields, feed Cattel, and follow Trades, but not to have any share in the Government, to avoid the Inconveniences of a Popular Power. To bind each to the other, he recommended certain of the *Plebeians* to the Protection of the *Patritians*, liberty being given to the *Plebeians* to chuse their own *Patrons*. These *Patrons* were to advise their *Clients* in Points of Law, to manage their Suits, to take care of 'em, absent and present, as their own Children; and by all Ways and Methods to secure their Peace and Happiness. The *Clients*, on the other side, were to help their *Patrons* with Money upon many Occasions, to ransom them or their Sons, if taken Prisoners, and to bear the Charges of their Magistracy, and other honourable Employments. They were never to accuse each other, or take contrary Sides; for if they did, any one might lawfully kill them that did so: And this *Patronage* was a Tye as effectual as any Consanguinity or Alliance; and it was the Glory of the Nobility

*Patritians.
Plebeians.*

*Patrons.
Clients.*

to

to have a great number of *Clients*, and to use 'em well. This *Patronage* had admirable Effects towards the firm Union of the People, for 600 Years after, till *Caius Gracchus* overthrew the Peace of the City: And because the *Plebeians* in the City received such Advantage from this Constitution, in imitation thereof, afterwards all *Colonies*, *Confederate* and *Conquer'd* Cities had their *Patrons*, to whom many times the *Senate* wou'd remit such Controversies as were brought before 'em, and ratifie their Judgment.

After this, *Romulus* chose 100 Men out of the *Patritians* to assist him in the Government. This number he call'd a *Senate*, either from their Age or Vertue, or, *a sinendo*, because nothing was transacted without their *Permission*. Such of the *Fathers* as he enroll'd or enter'd into this Venerable Assembly, he call'd *Patres Conscripti*, as *Dionysius* rightly observes; and, to make up this Number, he chose three out of each *Tribe*, and as many out of each *Curia*; over all which he had a particular Magistrate, to whom he committed the Government of the City when he was absent in the Wars; and this Magistrate was call'd *Præfectus Urbis*. After this, he immediately proceeded to settle the Authorities of King, Senate, and People. The King's Office at home, was, To take care of the Religious Rites; to preserve the Laws and Customs; to decide the chief Causes between Man and Man, and referr the lesser ones to the Senate, into which he had an Inspection; to call the Senate, assemble the People, first giving his own Opinion, then ratifying what was approv'd of by the major Part; Abroad, and in the Wars, He had absolute Authority. The Senate's Office was, To debate and resolve about such things as the King propos'd, which were decreed by the Majority of Voices. To the People he committed three Things; To create Magistrates, make Laws, and resolve about any War that was propos'd by the King; yet still in such a manner as the Authority of the Senate interpos'd.

The

The next thing that *Romulus* did, was to take care of a Guard for his Person; and therefore he order'd the *Curia* to chuse him out 300 lusty young Men, ten out of each; and these were call'd *Celeres*, a ce-*Celeres*.
leritate from their Activity and Readiness to assist the King upon all Occasions. They were commanded by a *Tribune* or Colonel, call'd *Tribunus Celerum*, three *Tribunus*.
Centurions, and other Inferiour Officers. This Com-*Celerum*.
 pany, with their Spears, defended the King in the City, and in Battels were the foremost Leaders, Charging first and Retreating last. Besides these, he had for his Attendance, twelve *Lictors* or *Sergeants*, *Lictors*.
 who punish'd Offenders, and executed his Com-
 mands; these alway going before him in Publick, with their Bundles of Rods, call'd *Fasces*, and their *Axes*, signifying different Punishments, according to Men's different Crimes. Thus *Romulus*, with all the Industry and Prudence imaginable, took care to settle the State, being very exact in Justice, and forbidding all sordid Arts and Trades, especially such as were subservient to Luxury, which being left wholly to Slaves and Strangers, the *Romans* for a long time scorn'd to be concern'd in. This is the Form of the Common-wealth, as *Romulus* first establish'd it, which was so excellent, that it was admir'd by *Dionysius* above all the Constitutions, even of his own Country-men the *Grecians*.

II. *Romulus*, finding he was encompass'd with several powerful Nations, who, with envious Eyes beheld the extraordinary Growth of his City, and observing how much it was fill'd by Fugitives, who had no Wives, he bethought himself of Means to contract Alliance with his Neighbours, and get Wives for his Subjects, which was his second Device to encrease the City: Therefore, by Advice of his Grand-father *Numitor*, and the Consent of the *Senate*, he proclaim'd a solemn Feast and Publick Games, in Honour of
Neptune,

U. C.
4.

Neptune, through all the Country thereabouts. This immediately occasion'd a great Concourse of People, who came flocking in, with their Wives and Children, from several Neighbouring Places, to behold these Pompous Shows, together with the new City. In the mid'st of the Solemnity, upon a Signal given, the *Romans*, with their drawn Swords laid hold on such Arms as they cou'd most conveniently, and by main force carry'd them to their Houses. The Number of these amounted to 68; for whom *Romulus* chose so many Husbands, and marry'd 'em after their own Country Rites, making 'em sign a Covenant or Communication, with the Ceremonies of Fire and Water; which Custom continu'd among the *Romans* for many Ages.

This Act was highly resented by most of their Neighbours, especially the *Sabines*, who were principally concern'd; but their Backwardness in their Preparations made the Cities *Cænina*, *Antenna*, and *Crustumium*, begin the War first. The two former (three or four Miles North of *Rome*, and Inhabited by the *Aborigines*) *Romulus* soon subdu'd, with the Death of their King *Acron*, whom he slew in a single Combat; and afterwards the latter, a Colony of *Alba*, a little way into *Sabina*. The Lands were divided between some of the *Romans* and the old Inhabitants, of whom 3000 were made Free of *Rome*, without losing their former Estates; so that the Foot-Men were now much increas'd. For this Victory, *Romulus* first Triumph'd, and bringing home the Spoils of King *Acron*, which the *Romans* nam'd *Opima Spolia*, or *Royal Spoils*, he design'd a Spot of Ground upon Mount *Capitoline* for a Temple to *Jupiter Feretrius*, so call'd from *ferire* to smite; and this was the Place where the *Capitol* afterwards stood. *Romulus*'s Valour and good Conduct in this War, together with his Clemency to the Conquer'd, had so great Effects, that not only many eminent Men went over

*Opima
Spolia.*

*Jupiter
Feretrius.*

over to him with their Families, (amongst whom was *Caelius*, who gave name to a Hill in the City) but some whole People submitted themselves to his Protection, and receiv'd Colonies from *Rome*.

This notable Success was a great Disappointment *U. C.* to the *Sabines*, who, resolving to correct their former 6. Carelessness by a double Diligence, assembled themselves at *Cures* their Metropolis, proclaim'd War against *Rome*, and made choice of *Tatius* their King for General. On the other side, *Romulus* made all possible Provision for Resistance, fortify'd the *Capitoline* and *Aventine* Hills, and receiv'd Auxiliary-Troops, both from *Hetruria* and his Grand-Father *Numitor*. The *Sabines* to have the fairer Pretence, demanded Restitution of the Virgins, and to have the Authors of the Injury deliver'd up; but receiving no satisfactory Answer, both Armies drew out into the Field, the *Sabines*, being 25000 Foot, and 1000 Horfe, and the *Romans* 20000 Foot and 800 Horfe; a great Number for a new built City. *Tatius* encamp'd between the *Capitoline* and *Quirinal*, but found 'em too well fortify'd to be attack'd; but, one *Tarpeia*, Daughter to *Tarpeius* Governour of the *Capitoline*, call'd to his Men from above, and agreed to betray the Place into their Hands, which was in a short Time effected. What she requir'd of 'em, as a Reward for this, was what they wore on their left Arms, meaning their Bracelets; but they threw their Targets upon her, which they wore on their left Arms, and press'd her to Death. From hence this Hill was call'd *Tarpeius*, till the building of the *Capitol*, which made it lose the Name, except that Part of it which was call'd the *Tarpeian Rock*, from whence they threw Malefactors down headlong.

The *Sabines*, now Masters of the *Capitoline*, had the Advantage of continuing the War at their pleasure; and for a long time only light Skirmishes pass'd between both Parties, with little or no Advantage to either

either side : But the Tediouſness and Charge of the War ſo wearied out both *Romans* and *Sabines*, that they very much deſir'd a Peace, but neither ſide wou'd ſtoop to ſue for it. Thus they continu'd for a very conſiderable time, till both reſolving to do their utmoſt, they came to a general Battel, which was renew'd ſeveral Days with almoſt equal Succeſs. In the laſt Conteſt, the *Romans* were much worſted in the beginning, and fled to the *Palatium* ; but rallying and renewing the Fight with Succeſs againſt the *Sabines*, the Women who were ſtolen and marry'd to the *Romans*, and the cauſe of this War, through the Perſuaſions of *Herſilia*, one of the principal among 'em, ran deſperately into the miſt of the Darts and dead Bodies, with their Children in their Arms, and their Hair about their Ears, making ſuch lamentable Shrieks and Out-crys, that they immediately gave over. Theſe became Mediators, and made Peace between the Fathers and Son-in-Laws, after the War had laſted ſix Years. The Articles were, Firſt, That *Romulus* and *Tatius* ſhou'd reign conjoyn'tly in Rome, with equal Power and Prerogative : Secondly, That the City from *Romulus* ſhou'd ſtill be call'd Rome, but the Citizens *Quirites*, from *Cures* the native Place of *Tatius* : Thirdly, That now the two Nations ſhou'd become one, and as many of the *Sabines* as wou'd, ſhou'd be made Free of Rome.

U. C.

12.

Quirites.

The City being now much increaſed by the Number of the *Sabines*, Mount *Capitoline* was taken in, built upon, and laid out for their Habitation. *Romulus* choſe out 100 of the moſt noble of the *Sabines*, and added 'em to the *Senate*, ſo that it now conſiſted of 200 Perſons. The *Legions*, (ſo call'd *ab eligendo*, becauſe they were choice ſelect Men) which before contain'd 3000 Men, were now increas'd alſo to 4000, whence a *Legion* was call'd *Quadrata* ; yet afterwards a *Legion* compris'd as many Men as was found convenient for the Service of the Commonwealth.

Legion.

wealth. Several new Feasts were instituted upon the account of this Union, as *Matronalia*, *Carmenalia*, &c. and a particular Respect was had to those Women who procur'd this happy Reconciliation, and several Privileges were allow'd 'em, particularly they were exempted from all Work except Spinning and making of Cloth. Now the *Tribes* were call'd by distinct Names; the first *Rhamnenses*, from *Romulus*; the second *Tatenses*, from *Tatius*; and the third *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* or Grove where the *Ashlum* stood. For five Years the two Kings did reign quietly and peaceably together; but in the sixth, *Tatius* protecting some of his Friends who had robb'd and plunder'd the *Lavinians*, and killing the Ambassadors who were sent to demand Satisfaction, was slain by the *Lavinians* at his going to sacrifice there. *Romulus* made Satisfaction to the injured Persons, and bury'd *Tatius* in *Rome* very honourably.

III. *Romulus*, once more sole Monarch of *Rome*, U. C. fell upon *Fidenæ* and subdu'd it, a Town five Miles 18. off *Rome*, that had seiz'd on Provisions coming thither in time of Famine; and soon after, he took *Cameria*, an *Alban* Colony just by; into both which he sent a sufficient Number of *Romans* to inhabit 'em, according to his usual Custom. Then he punish'd the *Crustumini*, who had kill'd their Planters which he had plac'd among 'em; and over all these he obtain'd a second Triumph. *Romulus's* Action against the *Fidenates* was extreamly ill look'd upon by the *Veientes* their Neighbours, who immediately by an Embassy requir'd the *Romans* to withdraw their Garrison, and restore the Inhabitants to their former Privileges. These *Veientes* were one of the twelve Nations of *Hetruria*, a powerful People, inhabiting a strong City as large as *Athens*, situated upon a craggy Rock about twelve Miles North of *Rome*. Their Demands being rejected, they began their Acts of Hostility, and both

U. C.

21.

both Armies met at *Fidenæ*; where, after two sharp Engagements, *Romulus* became Conqueror. The *Veientes* were now forc'd to betake themselves to Intreaties, and so enter'd into a League with the *Romans* for 100 Years, upon these Articles; To quit a seventh part of their Dominions, with their Salt-pits nigh the River, and to give up fifty Hostages of the most considerable Families. *Romulus* for this, triumph'd a third time, leading with him their General, an aged Man, who had so badly perform'd his Office, that he was afterwards personated by an old Man in all Triumphs.

This was the last War manag'd by *Romulus*, who after that imploy'd most of his Time in settling the Government, and placing it upon the surest Foundations. He made many good and profitable Laws, most of which were unwritten. Particularly he made one concerning Marriages, where the Authority of the Husband was so well and conveniently fix'd, that for 520 Years, a Divorce was not known in *Rome*. He gave Fathers absolute Power over their Sons, to sell, imprison, scourge, or kill 'em, tho' in never so great an Office, and that as long as they liv'd. He appointed no Punishment for real *Parricide*, but call'd all Murder so; thinking the latter a detestable Crime, but the other impossible: and it was indeed a Thing never known in *Rome* for 600 Years. For the Peoples Way of Living, he enjoyn'd two Courses of Life, *Warfare* and *Husbandry*, equally dividing the Lands, Slaves, and Money, taken from the Enemy; he appointed a Market once in nine Days, which from thence was call'd *Nundina*. When any Town was taken, he suffer'd no Prisoner of Man's Age to be slain or sold, or their Lands left untill'd, but order'd a Colony from *Rome* to cultivate 'em, and some of the Strangers to be admitted to the Freedom and Privileges of the City; and this was his third Contrivance to encrease the City. As to Controversies that might arise

Nundina.

arise upon any Injuries, he immediately decided 'em, or referr'd 'em to others, inflicting speedy Punishments according to the nature of the Crime. Finding publick Spectacles to have a great Influence upon the People, he set up his Judgment-Seat in the most conspicuous Place in the *Forum*, where his Guard of 300 *Celeres*, and his 12 *Lictors* with their Rods and Axes, in view of all the People, scourging or executing Malefactors, made a most terrible Show.

In the latter end of his Reign, whether swell'd with the Imagination of his former Successes and present Security, or carried away with some pleasing Notions of Arbitrary Government, he began to grow very Tyrannical, enlarging his Prerogative beyond those Bounds he had formerly set to it, and making use of the Senate only to ratifie his Commands. Tho' he was extreamly belov'd by the common People, yet these Actions gain'd him the Hatred of the Nobility and Senate, and brought him to an untimely Death; he being torn in pieces, as is mostly believ'd, in the Senate-House, the Senators carrying his Body out by Piece-meal under their Gowns to prevent Discovery. The Senators took an occasion from the Secresie of the Fact, and the Concealment of the Body, to persuade the Multitude that he was taken up among the Gods; and *Julius Proculus*, one of the chief of the Nobility, did almost put all out of doubt by swearing solemnly, That *Romulus* appear'd to him, and told him, *It was the Pleasure of the Immortal Gods to have him continue among Mankind, till he had founded a City whose Empire and Glory shou'd far surpass all others. He bad him farewell, and tell his Subjects, that by the Exercise of Temperance and Fortitude, no human Power shou'd e'er withstand the Roman Arms; and he wou'd always be a propitious God to 'em, under the Name of Quirinus.* The Day, in which he was said to be taken up, was kept after that as a great Holy-Day; and a

C Tem-



Temple was built in Honour of him on one of the Seven Hills, from him call'd by the Name of *Quirinalis*.

He reign'd 37 Years, in which space he very much advanc'd the State of the City, leaving in it 46000 Foot and 1000 Horse; a happy Increase for so short a time. After his Grand-father *Numitor's* decease, the Kingdom of *Alba* fell to him, which he govern'd by Deputies; and the more to please that People, he allow'd 'em the Privileges of a Free-State, which occasion'd the Senate to bear their Usage the worse. So now the *Roman* Dominions consisted of a considerable part of *Sabina*, a small part of *Hetruria*, and a mix'd part of *Latium*.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Romulus to the Death of Numa Pompilius, the Second King of Rome.

Containing the Space of 44 Years.

U. C.
38.

L *Romulus* being dead, or, as some are pleas'd to believe, taken up; the City was greatly divided about the Election of another King; but lest these Discords shou'd occasion Anarchy and Confusion in the Commonwealth, the Senate agreed to divide themselves into *Decurys* or Tens, and that *Decury* which was chosen by Lot shou'd exercise the Regal Authority for fifty Days, each Man governing in his Turn five Days, the Authority then falling to another *Decury*; and this they call'd an *Inter-Rognum*. This Government continu'd a whole Year, till the People at last began to murmur, saying, *It was a trick of some*

Interrex.

some few who intended to get the Power into their own Hands, and that for one pretended Tyrant they had now got 200 real ones; therefore they resolv'd that a King shou'd be chosen. In the Election great Contests arose between the Romans and Sabines, each believing it reasonable to have one of their own Country; till at length they came to this Conclusion, That the Party which did elect shou'd chuse one out of the Body of the other, so by that means the elected Prince might be oblig'd to favour both Parties, one for their Votes, and the other for their Alliance. It falling to the Romans to chuse, the Patritians fix'd upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, a Person of about forty Years of Age, who by the Consent of the People was elected King. Numa then resided at Cures, being a Person of the greatest Vertue, Knowledge and Abilities of that time, and had withdrawn himself from the Noises and Troubles of the World; therefore Ambassadors, one a Roman, and the other a Sabine, were dispatch'd to him to offer him the Kingdom.

The Ambassadors finding him with his Father and Kinsman Marcius, by their Speakers, Proculus and Valesus, told him the occasion of their coming: To whom the elected King made this philosophical and modest Answer: Since every Alteration of a Man's Life is generally hazardous in the Attempt, as well as dangerous in the Consequence; it wou'd be the highest Indiscretion for one, who, in his own Opinion, is sufficiently Happy, to endeavour, or admit of any Change; tho' there were nothing more in it than the preferring a turbulent and uncertain Life, before a certain Quiet and Security. For my part, Romans, I must freely tell you, That I am not only discourag'd, but even deterr'd from accepting your generous Offers, even by what is commonly reported of your famous Romulus, who was not only suspected of contriving Tatius's death, but was likewise suppos'd to fall himself by the Rage of the Senate. And if Romulus himself, sprung, as they say, from Divine Race, miraculously preserv'd, and as miracu-

lously brought up, labour'd under such vast Inconveniencies; how successful can I hope to be, begotten by a mere Mortal, and brought up the ordinary Way, when I come to struggle with such insuperable Difficulties? Besides, you much mistake your Person, as well as forget your Interest and Glory, when you think I can be any ways serviceable to you: For my Temper naturally leads me to Peace, to Books, and the Worship of the Gods; but you Romans require a vigorous and active King, who may cherish that Warlike Humour which your late Success has excited: And therefore such a Prince as should come to inculcate Peace, Justice, and Religion into the Minds of a Martial Nation, must needs appear not only strange and ridiculous to the World, but also mean and despicable to his Subjects.

The Romans were much surpriz'd at this Answer, but still were very urgent with him to accept of the Kingdom; in which they were not a little assisted by his Father and Marcius, who return'd him this Reply: Tho' you remain contented with your present Fortune, and court neither Riches nor Power; yet you may reasonably imagine that such large Talents of Justice, Moderation, and Piety, were never given you by the Gods to lie useless and conceal'd: And you know these are Vertues that can never have a greater Influence upon Mankind, than when they so publicly appear in the Person of a King. Tatius, tho' a Foreigner, was highly esteem'd by the Romans, and the Memory of Romulus was so precious to 'em, that after his decease, they voted him Divine Honours; and if the Affections of the People should break out into a furious Desire of War, what can better manage the Reins of that Passion than such a moderating Hand as yours? And who knows but that the People, being ever Victorious, may be satiated with the Spoils and Trophies they have gain'd, and gladly entertain a mild and peaceful Prince, who being a lover of Justice and Equity, may settle the City in a strong and inseparable Union, and in a sure and lasting Happiness? These Reasons and Persuasions, together with the Ambassadors Entreaties, at last prevail'd upon Numa to accept of the

the Kingdom ; and after a Sacrifice he went for *Rome*. He was met by the Way by the *Senate* and People, who with a general Consent invested him with the Regal Authority ; and so universal was the Joy, that they seem'd not so much to receive a King, as the addition of a new Kingdom.

II. *Numa* being a Person of extraordinary Wisdom and Policy, as well as Devotion, thought it most convenient to raise and strengthen that City by wholesome Laws, and Religious Customs, which had been founded upon War and Bloodshed ; judging it as necessary to employ a People well at home, as to exercise 'em abroad : The first thing he did was to disband the Royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*, lest the Maintenance of such a Force might seem to argue a Diffidence of them that chose him, saying, *That he would not Rule over that People of whom he conceiv'd the least Distrust.* Next he built a Temple to *Janus*, *Janus.* which was always to stand open in time of War, and to be shut in time of Peace, as it continu'd all his Reign ; which, as some observe, never hapned but thrice from his Time to that of *Tiberius Cæsar*. To the two *Flamens* or High-Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, he added a third of *Quirinus* or *Romulus* ; and to him also is ascrib'd the bringing in of the *Pontifices*, whereof he *Pontifices.* himself was one, and officiated accordingly. He also ordain'd the *Vestal Virgins*, being four in number, to whom he gave very great Priviledges ; particularly when they went abroad they had the *Fasces* carry'd before 'em, and in their Walks, if they met with a Malefactor leading to Execution, they had the Power of freeing him from Death, upon Oath given that the Meeting was meerly accidental. He also Instituted the Orders of the *Salii* and the *Feciales*, *Salii.* *Feciales.* Priests devoted to *Mars* ; the former were to carry those Sacred Shields call'd *Ancilæ*, and the latter to judge

judge of the equiry of War, and proclaim it with much Ceremony.

This Prince, tho' naturally averſe to all Wars, yet conſider'd that Peace and Security might too much ſoften and degenerate the Minds of the Multitude; and therefore he endeavour'd what he cou'd to imprint on their Minds the Notions of Religion and Vertue, and the due Reverence of God: And to gain the more Credit and Obedience to his Conſtitutions, he pretended he had often and immediate Converſe with the Goddeſs *Egeria*, and wou'd be often telling them that ſtrange Viſions and Apparitions were ſeen, and Prophetick Voices heard; which Stories had great and remarkable Effects upon the People. His Religion was much like that of *Pythagoras* afterwards, and as he taught, *That the Principle of all Things was not to be perceiv'd by Senſe, nor was liable to Motion, but was Inviſible, Immortal, and to be apprehended by the Underſtanding alone*; ſo *Numa* forbid the *Romans* to uſe the Image of any God, which repreſented him under the Form of a Man, or any other living Creature: And this was ſtrictly obſerv'd in all their Temples and Sacred Places, for 170 Years at the leaſt; they holding it a great Crime to liken ſuch ſuperiour Beings to Things ſo much below 'em.

Pagum.

For the Encouragement of *Agriculture*, he divided thoſe Lands which *Romulus* had gain'd in War among the poorer Sort, cauſing his Subjects to apply themſelves to Husbandry, and by ſuch ſort of Employments to cultivate their Minds as well as the Earth: Then he divided all the Lands into ſeveral Parcels, to which he gave the name of *Pagi*, or Boroughs; and over every one of theſe he ordain'd a Chief, or Arbitrator in Judicial Cauſes. And that he might take away all Diſtinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, which threatn'd the State with endless Factions and Diviſions, he divided all the Inhabitants according to their ſeveral *Trades* and *Occupations*, making every Art a parti-

particular *Company* and *Society*, and appointing to every one their respective Courts and Privileges; and this was his Master-piece in Politicks. He much abated the Rigour of that Law made by *Romulus* concerning the Power of Fathers over their Children, making it unlawful for 'em to sell their Sons after Marriage, because it was unjust that a Woman who had marry'd a Free-Man shou'd be constrain'd to live with a Slave. He also prescrib'd Rules concerning Mourning; a Child of Three Years, and so upwards to Ten, was to be mourn'd for so many Months as it was Years old; and the longest time of Mourning for any Person, was not to exceed the term of Ten Months: Which also was the Time appointed for Widdows, before which, they cou'd not, without great Indecency, marry again; but in case Circumstances were such as not to admit of so long a Term, they were to sacrifice a Cow with a Calf for Expiation of their Fault.

One of the principal Things done by this Prince was the Reformation of the Year, which, in *Romulus's* Time was quite out of Order, some Months having more than 35 days, and some fewer than twenty, *Numa* finding the *Solar* Year to exceed the *Lunar* by eleven days, doubled these eleven Days, and every other Year inserted a Month after *February*, consisting of 22 Days, which was by the *Romans* call'd *Mercedonius*, because it was the usual Time for paying of Wages. He likewise chang'd the Order of the Months, making *January* and *February* the first and second Months, which were the two last in *Romulus's* Days. *January* had its name from *Janus*, the most ancient God or King in *Italy*. *February* was so call'd from the *Expiations* which us'd to be in it, signify'd by the word *Februa*. *March*, so call'd from *Mars*, the suppos'd Father of *Romulus*, which, upon that account, had been plac'd first. *April* from *Aphrodites* or *Venus*, because, at the Superstitious Worship which

Mercedonius.

The Months,

was perform'd in it, when the Women were Crown'd with Myrtle. *May*, so nam'd from *Maia*, the Mother of *Mercury*, to whom this Month was made Sacred. *June*, from *Junio*, or as some will have it, from *Juventus*, because the Season is warm, and, as it were, *Juvenile*. The rest had their Names from their Order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*; only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* were afterwards turn'd into *July* and *August*, by the Emperors *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*.

Numa was marry'd to *Tatia*, King *Tatius*'s Daughter, by whom he had one Daughter nam'd *Pompilia*; and after a Reign of 43 Years, being above 80 Years old, he dy'd, and was bury'd with great Honour and Solemnity. He forbid his Body to be burnt, as it was usual in those days, but was bury'd in a Stone Coffin, under the Hill *Faniculum*; and the Books of his Ceremonies were laid by him in another, being Twelve, written in *Latin*, and as many in *Greek*: These were taken up about 400 Years after; and because it was thought a piece of Impiety to communicate such Mysteries to the Multitude, were burnt by Order of the *Senate*. He kept the State in such a constant Peace, by his prudent Management, as did very much contribute to the Strength and Security of the City, and much improv'd and polish'd the rough *Genius* of the *Roman* People.

C H A P. III.

*From the Death of Numa, to the Death of
Tullus Hostilius, the Third King of
Rome.*

Containing the space of 33 Years.

I. **U**Pon the Death of *Numa*, the Government U. C. 82.
once more devolv'd upon the *Senate*, and
after several *Interrexes*, *Tullus Hostilius* was created
King by the universal consent of all People. He was
Grandson to the famous *Hostilius*, who, in *Romulus's*
Days had behav'd himself very Valiantly against the
Sabines in the Citadel, and had Marry'd the Daugh-
ter of *Herfilius*. He was of a bold and fiery Temper,
and one who often fought and greedily embrac'd all
occasions of War; led to it partly by his own proper
Inclination, and partly by the Glory and Renown
of his Grand-Father. As he thought the Love of his
Subjects the most necessary thing to carry on the De-
signs of a Warlike Prince; so in the beginning of
his Reign he purchas'd the good Opinion of the
Poorer sort, by dividing to them, Man by Man, that
Portion of Land which his Predecessors, the two
former Kings had kept to bear their Charges, saying,
*That his own Inheritance was sufficient for his own Ex-
pences.* That none of these might want Room, he
enlarg'd the City, and took in the Hill *Caelius*, where
he also had his Palace; and all such as had now
gotten Ground, and wanted Habitations, built upon
it; so the City encreas'd in Bulk every day.

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U. C.
84

It was not long before this Prince had a fair Opportunity of War offer'd him, for *Clulius*, Governour or Dictator of *Alba*, envying the Growth of *Rome*, had procur'd some Persons to Rob and Pillage in the *Roman* Territories, knowing they wou'd revenge the Injury; which, when they did, he perswaded the *Albans*, that they had receiv'd a great Affront, and caus'd 'em to take up Arms: But that there might be some Appearance of Reason, and for the greater Formality, Embassadors were sent to *Rome* to demand Restitution. *Hoftilius* presently perceiv'd the Trick, and well knowing that they who first refus'd satisfaction, wou'd bear the greatest Blame, by nobly treating the Embassadors, cunningly delay'd giving Answer, till he cou'd send to demand Restitution at *Alba*. His Embassadors receiv'd a sharp Repulse from *Clulius* at *Alba*, upon notice whereof, *Hoftilius* gave Audience to the *Alban* Embassadors, telling them, *How he had receiv'd such an Answer from Alba as argu'd the League broken*; whereupon he proclaim'd a just and necessary War against the *Albans*, which he wou'd carry on to the utmost. Both Parties made all possible Preparations, and drew out their Forces about five Miles from *Rome*, to a Place afterwards call'd *Clulius's Ditch*; where, when they expected to have decided the Quarrel, *Clulius* was found dead in his Tent; but whether by a natural or violent Death is uncertain. In his Place was chosen *Metius Sufferius*, a Person who had no other Qualifications to recommend him to this Office, besides his turbulent Spirit, and his being as great an Incendiary as his Predecessor.

At the same time the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who in *Romulus's* Days had submitted to the *Romans*, and in *Numa's* Reign were preparing and seeking for an Opportunity to shake off their Yoak, had now drawn their Forces together at *Fidena*, with Design to fall upon both *Romans* and *Albans*, after they had weak-
ned

ned themselves in Battel. The news of these Preparations at first put the Armies at a stand, and made them wave Fighting for a while; till at last *Suffetius* fearing these People, and *Hostilius* desiring to punish them, came both to a sort of an Accommodation; agreeing, *That for the Safety of both Nations, the Quarrel shou'd be decided by a Combat of three Persons on each side, and the Conquering Party shou'd obtain the Preeminence, and Command over the other.* These Proposals were no sooner ratify'd, but many Valiant Persons, ambitious of the Honour of serving their Country, offer'd themselves to be the Combatants, but cou'd not be accepted of, others being agreed upon: For it hapned that one *Sagwinus* of *Alba* had formerly two Daughters, one marry'd to *Curatius* an *Alban*, and the other to *Horatius* a *Roman*, who being both with Child at the same time, were deliver'd of Three Sons at a Birth. Now, to these two Ternions of Brothers was this great Combat committed, as being of equal Years, Strength, and Courage; and all Matters of Consanguinity and private Affections dispenc'd withal.

Now was the Fate of *Rome* to be decided by six Persons only, which rais'd all Peoples Hopes and Fears to a more than ordinary Pitch: The Lists were prepar'd between the two Armies, Judges were appointed, and the Combat perform'd with a great deal of Pomp and Solemnity, and with as much Courage and Resolution on both Sides. The *Curatii* were in a short time all wounded, but two of the *Horatii* were slain downright, and the third, unhurt, left to deal with three Adversaries. At this the *Albans* gave a great Shout; but he, not the least daunted, cunningly retreated as tho' he fled, and drawing 'em out severally, so as to have but one upon him at once, he slew 'em all, and *Rome* became Conqueror. At his return to the City, his Sister met him with many provoking and reproachful Words,
for

Duumviri.

for imbruing his hands in the Blood of his Cozen-Germains, whereof one was contracted to her; upon which *Horatius*, flesh'd with the Honour of his Conquest, and transported with the Love of his Country, slew her upon the Spot. For which Fact, when he was accused, *Hoftilius* avoided giving Judgment himself, but hereupon created those Officers call'd *Duumviri*, for Capital Punishments, and they Condemn'd him: But there lying an Appeal from these Officers to the People, they gave him his Life at the request of his Father, who esteem'd it as a great and Heroick Act, and gave his Daughter Ignominious Burial, for an Example to all who prefer'd private Respect before the Publick Good. *Hoftilius* dealt very gently with the *Albans*, but, notwithstanding, for the Advantages gain'd over them, had a Triumph.

U. C.
85.

II. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, finding that they were like to be call'd to an Account for their double Dealings, now broke into open Rebellion; and *Sufferius* enrag'd at the Event of the late Combat, and hoping to free himself from the Roman Power, privately encourag'd 'em with all the Promises of Assistance, if need were. The *Romans* and *Albans* now made up one Army, and were advancing towards the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*; but, upon their nigh Approach, *Sufferius*, who had laid all his Designs before hand, drew off all the *Alban* Troops on one side, with an Intention to joyn with the prevailing Party. The *Romans*, apprehending the Danger of their Separation, and fearing some Treachery, were greatly discourag'd at it; but *Hoftilius*, tho' satisfy'd of the Villany, immediately gave it out as publickly as he could, That it was done by his Order, and was a Stratagem to surprise the Enemy: At this Report the *Fidenates* and their Companions were quite disheartned, upon Suspicion of their Friends Infidelity, and, in a short time,

time were put to the Rout by the *Romans*; for which Victory *Hoftilius* triumph'd a second Time. After the Battel, *Suffetius* joyn'd with the *Romans* again, like one that had done nothing amiss; but *Hoftilius*, assembling the whole Body of the *Albans*, and then laying before them all his treacherous Practices and villanous Designs, caus'd him to be torn in pieces by Horfes; having before-hand sent *Marcus Horatius* to *Alba*, who utterly demolish'd that City, and transplanted the Inhabitants to *Rome*. Thus fell the City of *Alba*, once famous for its Riches and number of Inhabitants, after it had flourished 487 Years.

Rome grew much in Strength, Riches, and Grandeur out of the Ruins of *Alba*; Mount *Caelius* being appointed for the Inhabitants that came from thence; and the King allowing 'em all the *Roman* Privileges. He chose the Nobility of the *Albans* into the Senate, particularly the *Tullii*, *Servitii*, *Quintii*, *Geganii*, *Curatii*, and the *Clelii*; and that he might out of those new People make some Addition to the Strength of every Order, he chose ten Troops of Horfe out of the *Albans*: In Confidence of this his Strength, after an intire Reduction of the *Fidenates*, he declared War against the *Sabines*, who before had committed several Robberies upon the *Romans* that traded with 'em. U. C. 88.

He met 'em at the Wood call'd *Malitiosa Sylva*, where, especially by the help of his Horfe who broke all their Ranks, after a short Engagement, he intirely defeated 'em, forcing 'em to beg Peace; over whom he obtain'd a third Triumph. The *Latines* were not yet quiet, refusing to pay Obedience to the *Romans*, which occasion'd several Fallings out; but this War was manag'd with great Moderation, no Battel fought, no Town taken or plunder'd besides *Medullia*, which *Hoftilius* punish'd for an Example, because it had receiv'd a *Roman* Colony in *Romulus's* time.

This War lasted most of the rest of his Days, and in the latter end of his Reign, *Rome* was much infected

fect'd with Plagues and Famines, and frightn'd with Prodigies, and the like. Then *Hostilius* began to think of bringing in the Religious Ceremonies of *Numa*, which he had all this time took little Notice of; but soon after he died, after a Reign of 32 Years; some say by Lightning, with his whole Family, tho' more probably by some treasonable Practices. In this Reign, the 300 *Celeres* were again re-assum'd, which had been dis-us'd in the last; and the City was very much increas'd, tho' the Dominions were little different from those in *Romulus's* Days, only they seem'd to have a surer Footing in some Places than before.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of Hostilius to the Death of Ancus Marcius, the Fourth King of Rome.

Containing the Space of 24 Years.

U. C.
115.

I. **A**FTER the death of *Tullus Hostilius*, the State fell into an *Interregnum*, as formerly; and in a short time, *Ancus Marcius* was made King by the *Inter-Rex* and *Senate*, and was confirm'd so by the People. He had his Surname *Ancus* from his crooked Arm, which he cou'd not stretch out in length, as *Festus* has it: He was Grand-Son to *Numa*, the second King of *Rome*, by *Pompilia* his Daughter, and *Marcius* his Kinsman, who was the Son of that *Marcius* which had perswaded *Numa* to accept of the Kingdom, and after *Numa's* death had kill'd himself because he did not succeed him. This *Ancus* was much of the same Temper with his Grand-Father *Numa*, and considering

ing that much of the Religion, and many of the Ceremonies had been neglected in the last Reign, he set himself to restore them to their former Use. For that Reason he insinuated to the People, that the Diseases, Pestilence, and other innumerable Calamities which had lately befallen the City, together with the disastrous End of *Hosilius*, proceeded from want of Devotion and a Neglect of their Gods. He highly commended the Orders and Institutions of *Numa*, and wou'd be often shewing the great Blessings of the State, and how much it flourish'd under that happy Reign; advising his Subjects to return to their Husbandry and more peaceable Employments, and to lay aside all Sorts of Violence, and all Profit that comes from War and Bloodshed.

The State thus settled, he expected, as his Grand-U. C. Father had done, to pass his time free from all Wars II 6. and Troubles; but he soon found his Designs cross'd, and was compell'd to be a Warrior against his Will, and was scarce ever free from Peril and Tumult. He had scarcely began his Reign, and modell'd the Commonwealth, when the *Latines* contemning him as a sluggish Prince, and unfit for Military Affairs, made Incursions into the *Roman* Territories. Upon which, he was oblig'd to make all necessary Preparations for a War, proclaiming it according to the Ceremonies appointed by his Grand-Father *Numa*. First an Ambassador is sent to the Frontiers of the Agressor's Country, who in a woollen Shash and a peculiar Dress, and likewise in a solemn Form of Speech, demanded Satisfaction; which if not granted in 33 Days, after a Consultation with the *Senate*, the *Fo-Feciales*, *ciales* or *Heraulds* are immediately sent in their proper Habits, with Javelins headed with Iron, or all blooded and burnt at the end; where in the Presence of three young Men at least, they in the Name of the Gods and the People of *Rome* solemnly proclaim War with that Country, and then throw their Jave-

Javelins into their Confines. This Custom was brought in by *Numa*, the Rules whereof were taken from the *Equicoli*, a very ancient People.

Ancus began this War with good Success, and first took *Politorium* by Storm, a Town of the *Latines*, 14 or 15 Miles South-East of *Rome*; the Inhabitants of which, according to the usual Custom, he transplanted to *Rome*, allowing them the Privileges of Free Citizens. And whereas the old *Romans* inhabited the *Palatine*, the *Sabines* the *Capitoline*, and the *Albans* the *Caelian*, he granted the *Arventine Hill* for the *Latines* to possess; the number of whom were encreased, upon the subduing of *Tilene* and *Sicania*, two *Larine* Towns nigh *Politorium*, which he took soon after. He in a little time likewise took *Medullia*, a Place of considerable Strength, and also *Politorium* again; for the *Latines* finding it empty had possessed themselves of it, which made *Ancus* intirely demolish it. The *Latines*, inrag'd at their Losses, made greater Preparations for the next Campaign; but, at several times, he ruin'd their Designs, broke their united Forces, forc'd em to beg Peace, and obtain'd a Triumph over em. A while after, he subdued the *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and the *Volscei*, who had fell out with him; and likewise such of the *Sabines*, who, not having felt the strength of *Rome*, had sorely repin'd at the exceeding Growth of an upstart City. These latter he overthrew again, and obtain'd over them a second Triumph.

U. C.
117.

U. C.
120.

II. *Ancus* did not only perform many great Acts abroad, but also did many noble Works at home: First upon the Account of the Success of his Arms, he re-built the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* after a more stately and magnificent manner than before. He fortifi'd the Hill *Janiculum*, on the other side of the River *Tiber*, for the greater strengthening of the City, and to prevent its being a Refuge for Enemies,
uniting

uniting it to the City with a wooden Bridge over that River. He likewise made a large Ditch call'd *Fossa Quiritium*, which was no small Defence against such as came from the Plains. And now, the City having receiv'd a vast Increase, seeing that such Multitudes of People of all sorts cou'd not but produce many Criminals, he built a large Prison for Malefactors in the Heart of the City, just facing the *Forum*, to be a Terror to their growing Boldness. He did not only enlarge the *Pomærium* of the City, but likewise its Dominions; for having taken from the *Veientes* the *Mesian* Forest, his Territories reach'd to the Sea, upon which, at the Mouth of the River *Tiber*, he built a Town call'd *Ostia*, nigh ten Miles South of *Rome*, to secure the Advantages of Trade to his Subjects; for thither Commodities being brought by Ships, were in lesser Vessels convey'd up the *Tiber* to this City; and about this Town, many Salt-pits were made.

This Prince, as well as his Predecessors, was very ready and careful to incourage Strangers; and by reason of the frequent Advancement of such, and the great Privileges they receiv'd, many came daily hither, and often such as were of good Note. Among these *Lucumon* an *Hetrurian* was one, a Person of great Accomplishments as well as large Possessions, who came hither from *Tarquiniæ* in *Hetruria*, with his Wife *Tanaquil*, and several Followers. He was Son to *Demaratus* a rich Merchant of *Corinth*, who had left his Country upon the account of the Troubles at that time, and settled in *Tarquiniæ*, where marrying a noble Matron, he had this Son, besides another who died Childless. *Lucumon* finding no Incouragement in his own Country, being the Son of a Foreigner, remov'd to *Rome*, where by his Hospitality and Bounty he soon became known to the King; having now taken upon him the Name of *Lucius*, adding that of *Tarquinius* from the Place of his Birth. He was ci-

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U. C.
127.

vily treated by *Ancus*, to whom he generously offer'd his whole Patrimony for the Publick Good, and by that means obtain'd Freedom for himself and Followers, with Lands both for Building and for Sustainance. *Ancus* in a little time chose him into the *Senate*, for he was greatly esteem'd by the King, and as much belov'd by the People; no Man being more hardy in War, or more prudent in Council.

Ancus bestow'd most of his latter Time in enriching his Subjects and improving the City, and at the end of 24 Years Reign he died; a Prince not inferior to any of his Predecessors, either for the Glory of Peace or War. He left behind him two Sons, both under Age, which he committed to the Guardianship of the foremention'd *Lucius Tarquinius*, as the fittest Person he cou'd employ in such an Office. The *Roman Dominions* were now encreased beyond what they were in the last Reign, by a larger Part of *Hetruria* taken from the *Veientes*, and a much better Footing in *Latium*.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of *Ancus Marcius*, to the Death of *Tarquinius Priscus*, the Fifth King of Rome.

Containing the Space of 38 Years.

U. C.
138.

I. **A** *N*ews being dead, the *Senate* receiv'd Power from the People, to order the Affairs of the Commonwealth, and created certain *Interrexes*, as formerly. In this short *Interregnum*, *Tarquin* was extremely busie about the Election of a King, having great hopes of it himself: Therefore to remove all Ob-

Obstacles to his Designs, he sent *Ancus's* two Sons out a Hunting, the eldest being then nigh 14 Years of Age, and assembling the People, he made a plausible Speech to 'em, wherein he plainly begg'd the Kingdom, urging the Examples of *Tatius* and *Numa*; the first an Enemy as well as a Stranger, and the second wholly unacquainted with the City; whereas he himself was so great a Friend to the City, that he had spent all his Riches upon it; and so well acquainted with it, that he had been train'd up several Years both in Civil and Military Affairs under their King. Then he cunningly insinuated his past Services, and insisting much upon his Liberality, he obtain'd the Kingdom. At the beginning of his Reign, the better to gain the Love of the Common People, he chose out 100 of the *Plebeians*, who for Vallour or Wisdom were most Eminent, and added them to the *Senate*, which made up the Number 300; those of *Romulus's* Creation being call'd *Patres Conscripti*, these were call'd *Patres minorum Gentium*; that is, Senators of a lower Rank. He likewise encreas'd the Number of *Vestal Virgins* from four to seven; but *Plutarch* says there were but two before. *Patres minorum Gentium.*

His first War was with the *Latines*, from whom he took several Towns, among the rest *Collatia*, a Place five Miles North-East of *Rome*; over which he plac'd Governor *Aruns Tarquinus* his Nephew, the Posthumous Issue of his Brother, surnam'd *Egerius* from his want of Patrimony, and *Collatinus* from the Place, which Surname continu'd to his Posterity. Notwithstanding the *Latines* great Supplies from *Hetruria*, he soon forc'd 'em to beg Peace; and then turn'd his Arms against the *Sabines*, who had again risen up against *Rome*. Both Armies met upon the Banks of *Anien*, where the *Romans* made use of a Stratagem, by sending a Party of Men, to burn a great Heap of Wood that lay by the River-side, and throw it in; which being helped forwards by the Wind, a great deal of the flaming Wood got hold on the Wood of

U. C.
143.

the Bridge, and set it on fire. This not only terrifi'd the *Sabines* while they were engaging, but when they were routed, hinder'd their Flight, their Bridge being burnt down; and therefore many of em, tho' they escap'd the Sword, perish'd in the Water; whose floating Arms being carry'd down the *Tiber* to *Rome*, discover'd the Victory there, almost before the News cou'd be carry'd. *Tarquin* proceeded to march into the *Sabine* Territories, where the *Sabines*, tho' with small Hopes, met him with an undisciplin'd Army; and being defeated a second time, they were forc'd to beg Peace. Over the *Sabines* *Tarquin* obtain'd his first Triumph.

U. C.
153.

Soon after the *Sabine*-War was finish'd, all *Herruria* (I suppose chiefly the neighbouring Parts) combin'd against him, upon the Account of his detaining some Prisoners of theirs whom he had taken among the *Sabines*. They had made a Law among them, *That whatever Town refus'd to joyn against the Romans, shou'd not be accounted of their Body*; and they presently possess'd themselves of *Fidenæ* a Roman Colony. But he was so successful against 'em, as to overthrow 'em in several Battels, and preparing for another Campaign, they were humbled, and to purchase Peace they own'd him for their Prince; and, in Tokens of Allegiance, sent him all the Ensigns of Sovereignty which their Kings were usually adorn'd with: These were a Crown of Gold, an Ivory Chair, a Scepter with an Eagle on the top, a Purple-Coat wrought with Gold, and a Purple-Gown pink'd, almost like the Robes of the *Persian* and *Lydian* Kings, only it was not four-square, but a semi-circular Figure. From hence also came the Robes and Coats us'd by the *Augurs* and *Heralds*, with many of their Ornaments us'd in *Rome* afterwards; the *Axes* they had before, tho' now they receiv'd 'em again. Over these People *Tarquin* triumph'd a second time. This War finish'd, which continu'd nine Years, he fell a second time upon the *Sa-*

bines, who alone contended with the *Romans* for Superiority, over whom he obtain'd a third Triumph; and providing for another Expedition, they yielded, whom he receiv'd on the same Terms with the *He-*
trurians.

II. *Tarquin* was no less mindful of strengthening the City at home, than he was of enlarging his Dominions abroad; for when he found leisure, he built the Walls of the City, which before were patch'd up in haste, with large square Stone, each consisting of a Load Weight. Then he took care of the other publick Buildings of the City, adorning the *Forum* with lofty *Portico's*, *Galleries*, and *Shops*, being a Prince much delighted with stately Buildings and noble Sights. He likewise made many *Cloacæ* or Common-*Cloacæ* *Sewers*, to drain the City, and carry the Filth of it into the *Tiber*; a work of such vast Charge and Labour, that when they were afterwards stopp'd, the *Censors* spent a thousand Talents only to clear 'em; a Work so admirable, that *Dionysius* thinks, that from the Magnificence of this, as well as their *Aquæducts* and *High-ways*, the Grandure of the *Roman Empire* appear'd. In the *Circus Maximus*, that vast Place for Games and Exercises between the *Palatine* and *Aventine Hills*, he caus'd Seats to be rais'd for the Spectators, with great Skill and Charge; and likewise distinguish'd all their Places according to their several Ranks and Dignities. In the *Sabine War* he vow'd a Temple to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, if he got the Victory; for that reason afterwards, he, with wonderful Cost levelled the Rock on the *Capitoline*, and form'd a Plot for building it, but did not live to go on with it any further; and this was the beginning of the *Capitol*.

Tarquin had design'd after these things, to have added three Centuries of the *Celeres*, to those three Instituted by *Romulus*, but was forbidden by *Atius*

Nævius to alter the Constitutions of that King ; therefore without creating of new *Centuries*, he doubled the number of the former. This *Nævius* was the most famous *Augur* that *Rome* ever knew ; and *Tarquin* one time, to try him, ask'd him, *If what he had in his thoughts might be done* ; he answering in the affirmative, *Tarquin* jeeringly told him, *He thought of cutting a Whetstone with a Razor* : *Nævius* bad him strike hard, and he cut it through. This much enhanc'd the Reputation of *Augury*, especially of *Nævius's* Skill therein ; but his being suddenly mis'd soon after, was a great Prejudice to *Tarquin* : For the two Sons of *Ancus Marcius*, grudging him their Father's Throne, accus'd him to the People for the Death of this *Augur* ; but *Tullius's* Son-in-Law answer'd their Objections, and clear'd him of that Scandal. Mif-fing of their Design, they pretended Repentance, and were easily receiv'd into Favour ; but three Years after, they disguised several of their Companions like Shepherds, and appearing in Court, pretended a Quarrel, and demanded Justice of the King. *Tarquin* appearing, they set upon him, and kill'd him ; but were soon caught, and receiv'd their just Reward.

Thus fell *Lucius Tarquinius*, for distinction surnam'd *Priscus*, after the last *Tarquin* had obtain'd the Kingdom, in the eightieth Year of his Age, after he had Reign'd 38 Years, and done many and great Services to the Common-Wealth. The *Roman* Greatness and Magnificence began to appear much more in this Reign than in the former ; and this King was the first that ever Triumph'd in a Chariot : Likewise the *Roman* Dominions were much encreased in this Reign, by a larger Authority in *Sabina*, and by some considerable Additions in *Hetruria* and *Latium*.

C H A P. VI.

*From the Death of Tarquinius Priscus, to
the Death of Servius Tullius, the Sixth
King of Rome.*

Containing the space of 44 Years.

I. **T** *Arquinius Priscus* being dead, *Servius Tullius* his Son-in-law, succeeded him. This *Tullius* was Son to *Ocrisia*, a considerable Woman taken Prisoner by *Tarquin* at *Corniculum*, a Town in *Latium*, and given to his Wife *Tanaquil*; where she was deliver'd of this *Tullius*, furnam'd *Servius*, in remembrance of her Bondage, her Husband being slain at the taking of the Town. *Tullius* being an Infant in his Cradle, a Flame of Fire is said to have appear'd and encompass'd his Head; which rais'd great Expectations in *Tanaquil*. She brought her Husband to so good an Opinion of him, that he both gave him Education, and, in time, made him his Son-in-law. When the King grew Old, he manag'd his Publick Affairs for him both abroad and at home, with that Valour, Prudence, and Integrity, that he gain'd the highest Esteem of all People. *Tarquinius* having no Sons, but only two Grand-sons, both Infants, *Tanaquil* having a desire that *Tullius* shou'd succeed him, kept his Death private for a while, pretending he was only dangerously wounded, till *Tullius* had prevail'd with the People to banish the *Marcii*. Being secure of that Faction, he carry'd out *Tarquin*, as newly dead, to be bury'd; and, as Tutor or Guardian to the young Children, executed the Office of King; which *Tanaquil*, out of the Window, had told the People

U. C.
176.

was her Husband's Will, when she feign'd him still alive. The *Patritians* were much concern'd at this, not knowing how to come to an Election, since they perceiv'd the People wou'd not approve their choice, but wou'd be all for *Tullius*; so they thought it better to let him Reign in an unlawful Manner, that they might ever have a just Pretence against him, than by stirring to procure him a legal Title.

Tullius finding all their Designs and Practices, immediately assembled the People in the *Forum*, there appearing with his Mother, Mother-in-law, the two Children, and all his Kindred, in deep Mourning, and the greatest Signs of Sorrow, he shew'd the People how sad and lamentable his Condition was, through the Contrivances of the *Patritians* against him, which he had no otherwise deserv'd than by his good Services to his Country. That they were design'd to recall the *Marcii*, who had treasonably Murder'd *Tarquin*, and to expose the Posterity of him whose Memory ought to be so precious to them, as well as himself, to the same Cruelty: But if it was the Pleasure of the People, he wou'd lay down all; and rather than offend them, undergo the severest Hardships. A great Clamour immediately arose, mix'd with the Prayers and Tears of those who besought him to retain the Government; and presently some, who were provided before-hand, began to cry out, He was to be chosen King, and the *Curix* were to be call'd to the Vote; which thing was instantly resolv'd by the Multitude. He thank'd 'em very heartily for being mindful of the Benefits receiv'd from him, and promised to pay their Debts, and divide the publick Lands among such as wanted, if they wou'd elect him King; and thereupon he appointed a day for the Assembly. At the *Comitia Curiata*, he was chosen King by the Votes of 'em all, in spite of all the opposition of the Senate, who refus'd at last to confirm the choice, as their Custom was,

II. Not long after his Settlement, according to his *U. C.* Promise, he divided the publick Lands among the poorer Sort; and in the *Curiata Comitia*; preferr'd fifty Laws concerning Contracts and Injuries. He very much enlarg'd the City, taking in three Hills to the four former, namely, the *Quirinal*, the *Viminal*, and the *Esquiline*; on the latter of which he dwelt himself, and compass'd the whole Seven with a stately Wall: Some say the Walls were never extended further, tho' vast Suburbs were afterwards added. After this, he divided the City into four Parts, and instead of three, made four *Tribes*, which he call'd by the names of *Palatina*, *Suburana*, *Collina*, and *Esquilina*. As *Romulus*, according to their Seats and Communions in Sacrifices, distinguish'd the People into *Tribes* and *Curiae*; so *Tullius*, according to their Estates and Riches, distinguish'd 'em into six *Ranks* call'd *Classes*. The design was to know how many were fit to bear Arms, and what Treasure might be supply'd for Wars and other Uses. These *Classes* were each divided into *Centuries* (the Word here signifying such a particular Division, and not 100 Persons) which made up 193 in all. The first consisted of such as were worth 110000 *Asses*, (each answering to ob 9 of our Money) and contain'd 98 *Centuries*, the *Equites* or *Knights* being counted in: The second valu'd at 75000 *Asses*, containing 22 *Centuries*, taking in *Artificers*; the third at 50000 *Asses*, containing likewise 22 *Centuries*; the fourth at 25000 *Asses*, containing 20 *Centuries*; the fifth at 11000 *Asses*, containing 30 *Centuries*; and the sixth consisted of the rest of the poorer Sort and Multitude, excepting Servants and Slaves, which made up but one *Century*.

The constant way of levying Men and Monies, was, for the future, according to these *Centuries*, each *Century* such a quantity; so that the middle sort having fewer *Centuries*, and yet more Persons than the

the richer sort, went to War by Turns, and paid but little Tribute; and the poorer Sort scarce bore any share at all. This seem'd very just to him, that they who were most concern'd shou'd take most Pains, and bear the greatest Charge; the *Romans* at that time maintaining themselves in the Wars without any Pay from the Publick. But to the richer Sort, who underwent most of the Charge and Danger, the King made sufficient amends, by giving 'em much the larger share in the Government, which he Politickly brought about this way: Formerly the Matters of the greatest Concern, namely, *The Creation of all Magistrates, making or repealing of Laws, and decreeing of Peace and War*, were all voted in the *Comitia Curia*; where every particular and private Person having an equal Vote, the *Plebeians* being most numerous, had in a manner the whole Power in their hands. But *Tullius*, upon these and the like occasions, assembled the People according to their *Centuries*, which were call'd *Comitia Centuriata*, where the *Plebeians* must of necessity be out-voted, having little more than the Shadow of Authority; which they, for many Years, were well enough contented withal; either for that they perceived not the Design, or rather, because they were thereby freed from the greatest part of the Charges, Troubles, and Dangers of the Publick.

*Comitia
Centuriata.*

After the *Census* or Tax, *Tullius* first instituted the *Lustrum* to be Celebrated, so call'd *a luendo* from Paying. On a certain day after the *Valuation* or *Census*, he ordain'd all the Citizens to meet in the *Campus Martius* all in Armour, each Man in his proper *Class* and *Century*; where, by solemn Sacrifices, the City was Expiated or *Lustrated*. This great Solemnity was call'd *Salistaurilia*, or rather *Suovetaurilia*, because a Hog, a Sheep, and an Ox were there Sacrific'd. These things perform'd, the *Lustrum* was finish'd, which, because of the continual change of *Mens Estates*, he order'd shou'd be reiterated every five Years;
so

Lustrum.
U. C.
187.

so that the old and proper *Lustrum* contain'd five Years compleat, which was as often as this *Tax* or *Valuation*, call'd *Census*, was made; tho' afterwards the *Julian Lustrum* contain'd but four. *Tullius* held the *Lustrum* four times in his Reign, and at the first were found 847000 free Citizens; but, to encrease their Number, he brought in the Custom of making Slaves Free of the Common-wealth, either for their Money or their Deserts, who being *Manumitted*, he distributed into the four *Tribes* of the City. *Slaves*, as was hinted before, had never any Vote in the Government, and these were either made or born so; the former sort were taken in War, thence properly call'd *Mancipia*; and the latter sort came of Parents who were such, or of the Mother only. 84,700

Besides the Division of the City it self, this Prince took great Care about the *Roman* Dominions, dividing the whole Territory into 26 Parts, which he likewise call'd by the name of *Tribes*; and these he again distinguish'd into their several *Pagi*, appointing for 'em their respective Officers and Places of Worship, as *Numa* had done when the Dominions were smaller. In his way of judging of Controversies, he gave away much of the Kingly Prerogative; for whereas the former Princes call'd before themselves all Controversies, and took cognizance of Crimes committed against Private Persons, as well as the Publick, he seperated their Causes, making himself Judge only of such as respected the Common-wealth, referring the Quarrels of particular Persons to others, to whom he prescrib'd Laws and Rules to go by; and if any Controversie arose between particular Towns, it was to be decided by the Judgment of others. After he had thus order'd the Common-wealth, he caus'd the *Latines* to build a Temple to *Diana*, upon the *Aventine-Hill*, at which place they shou'd meet and Feast every Year, and so preserve themselves as one Body Politick in Unity and Concord.

Pecunia.

cord. To all these things we may add, that he was the first who Coin'd Money in Rome, stamping it with the Image of Castor, whence it had the name of *Pecunia*, whereas the Romans before this time us'd it in a rude Lump or Mass.

III. At the same time that *Tullius* was settling and ordering the Affairs of the Common-wealth at home, he was often employ'd in many and considerable Wars abroad: For the *Hetrurians* looking upon him as an obscure Man, and a private Person, refus'd to pay him Obedience, and renounc'd the League made with his Predecessor *Tarquin*. He had War with 'em for 20 Years successively, overthrew 'em in many Battels, and Triumph'd over 'em three several times; the first time in the Year 182, the second in 186, and the third time in 188. And at last he so weakned and harras'd them, that they were glad to beg Peace of him, which he granted 'em upon the same Terms that *Tarquin* had impos'd upon 'em; only from three of the twelve Nations, namely, the *Veientes* the *Cerretanes* and the *Tarquinius*, which had been Principals in the Revolt, he took Part of their Lands, and divided 'em among such as were lately made free of Rome. At the finishing of these Wars, he built two Temples, both dedicated to *Fortune*, one to *Fortuna Bona*, and the other to *Fortuna Virilis*. In the latter end of his Reign he intended to have laid down his Office, and restor'd absolute Liberty, with the Care of the Common-wealth to the People, and was preparing a Model for that purpose, but liv'd not to perform it; for being old, and not far from the natural Period of his Life, he was slain by his Daughter and Son-in-law, after this manner.

Tullius had two Daughters, which he marry'd to *Tarquin's* Grandsons, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Aruns Tarquinius*. The first, of a proud tyrannical Nature, had

a very modest good Wife; and the last, of a mild sweet Temper, had a haughty wicked Woman. *Lucius* inrag'd at *Tullius* for possessing his Grand-Father's Throne, and finding his Brother's Wife of a fiery Temper, rather worse than himself, agreed with her to change Husbands; both promising to dispatch their Consorts, which they soon effected, and were marry'd together. After this, they resolv'd the utter ruine of the King, raising what Factions they cou'd against him, alledging his illegal Title, then claim'd the Crown as Heirs to *Tarquin*. But *Tullius* by his great Modesty and prudent Management, defeated all their Designs, and came off with great Honour, both with the *Senate* and the People; which brought *Lucius* to a feign'd Repentance on his side, and that produc'd a real Reconciliation on the King's. Cover'd with this Disguise, he took an opportunity one Day, when most of the People were out of the City, to go to the *Senate-House*, with the Robes and Royal Ensigns as King; and getting together such of the Fathers as were his special Friends, he boldly took Possession of the King's Throne. *Tullius* unadvisedly with a few Followers hastned thither, and going to thrust him out, *Lucius* threw him down the Stairs. The old Man, hardly recovering his Spirits, was led homewards in great Disorder, when *Lucius's* Wife coming to see the Event, saluted her Husband King, and advis'd him to send after *Tullius* and dispatch him; which was immediately perform'd. In her Passage home, coming to the Place where the Body lay, weltring in Blood, and as yet almost gasping, her Charioteer stood still, amaz'd at the horridness of the Sight, not having room to pass by it: Whereupon she in a Rage threw her Footstool at his Head, and in a barbarous manner forc'd him to drive her over it; the Place which before was call'd *Cyprinus Vicus*, being after this Act call'd *Sceleratus*.

This

This was the end of *Servius Tullius*, a Prince of eminent Justice and Moderation, after a prosperous Reign of 44 Years; but the less pity'd upon the Account of his undue Admission to the Crown, which made most of the *Patritians* espouse his Successor's part; especially since he was about altering the Government, which wou'd have prov'd the weakning, if not the ruine of their Authority. He left the *Roman* Dominions in much the same Condition as they were in the last Reign, only he got a larger Footing in *Hetruria*.

C H A P. VII.

From the Death of Servius Tullius, to the Banishment of Tarquinius Superbus, the Seventh King of Rome, which caus'd the Dissolution of the Regal State.

Containing the Space of 25 Years.

U. C.
220.

I. *L*ucius *Tarquinius*, having barbarously murder'd his Father-in-Law, obtain'd the Kingdom by meer Force and Violence; and by his Tyrannical and Imperious Carriage, soon got the Surname of *Superbus*, as that of *Priscus*, for distinction sake, was given to his Grand-Father. He wou'd not suffer the King's Body to be publicly bury'd, for fear the People shou'd rise and cause some dangerous Disturbances, he alledging, *That Romulus dy'd without Burial*. He murder'd such as he suspected to be of *Tullius's* Faction; and fearing the natural Consequences of his Tyranny, he kept a stronger Guard than ordinary about his Person. All Controversies whatsoever

Ch. VII. *The Regal State.*

ever he decided himself, assisted by his intimate Friends; and did execute, banish, or fine, all at his own Pleasure. He endeavour'd to establish his Tyranny with the more Security, by great Alliances, marrying his Daughter to *Ostavius Mamilius*, the greatest Man among the *Latines*, being descended from *Telegonus* the Son of *Ulysses* by *Circe*; and by his false Accusations and a cunning Device, caus'd 'em to stone *Turnus Herdonius*, who had discover'd to 'em his Baseness and Villany. He neither minded the Consent of the *Senate* or People; but much diminish'd the former by the Murder of the richer sort, whose Wealth he seiz'd on for his own use, resolving to chuse no more in their Places, that their Power might decrease insensibly, and in time be worn out.

Among these he murder'd for their Estates, *Marcus Junius* was one; a most eminent Man among the *Romans*, descended from the Companions of *Aneas*, and marry'd to *Tarquina*, Daughter to *Tarquinus Priscus*, by whom he had *Lucius Junius*. This *Lucius* was nobly educated, and had an admirable Wit and Knowledge, with a profound Judgment and Understanding; but after *Tarquin* had privily murder'd his Father and his eldest Brother, the better to save himself, and revenge his Father, he counterfeited himself a Fool, and thence had the Surname of *Brutus*. *Tarquin* thinking his Folly real, despis'd the Man; and having possess'd himself of his Estate, kept him as an Idiot in his House, suffering him to converse with his Children, not out of any Respect as a Kinsman, but to make 'em Sport by his ridiculous Words and Actions. It hapn'd in the time of a great Pestilence, he sent his two Sons *Sextus* and *Titus* to consult the Oracle, and with them *Brutus*, as a Companion and Diversion. The Sons were well pleas'd with his Company, and laugh'd very heartily to see him offer a wooden Staff to *Apollo*, wherein he had secretly

secretly convey'd Gold. The young Men having executed their Father's Commands, enquir'd of the Oracle, *Which of them shou'd be Prince of Rome?* It was answer'd, *He who first shou'd kiss his Mother*; which the Sons misunderstanding, agreed to do it both at their return, and reign joyntly together. But *Brutus*, knowing the meaning of the Oracle, as soon as they arriv'd at *Italy*, pretended to fall down by chance and kiss'd the Earth, which is the common Mother of all Men. After this, he ever made it his Business to find Opportunities of ruining the Tyrant, and restoring the Liberties of *Rome*; which he carry'd on by a wonderful Diffimulation.

II. *Tarquin* being a Warlike Prince, first fell upon the *Sabines*, who refus'd to pay him Obedience, and soon reduc'd them to Submission; over whom he obtain'd a Triumph. Soon after, he began a War with the *Volsci*, a People bordering on *Latium*, which continu'd with some little Intermiſſions above 200 Years: From these he took *Suessa Pometia*, a considerable City about 26 Miles South-East of *Rome*, where he found great Spoils and Plunder; and over them he obtain'd a second Triumph. Next he fell upon *Gabii*, a City of great Note, 10 or 11 Miles East of *Rome*, which had taken part with *Suessa-Pometia*: He invest'd it, but meeting with great Difficulties, he caus'd his eldest Son *Sextus* to counterfeit Desertion, upon Pretence of barbarous Usage from his Father; where he was honourably receiv'd; and by reason of his cunning and insinuating Behaviour, got to be their Governor. After some time he sent to his Father to know what Measures to take; *Tarquin* took the Messenger into the Garden, and, in imitation of *Thrasylbulus* the *Milesian*, cut down the tallest Poppies before his Face, then dismiss'd him without any other Answer. *Sextus*, knowing the meaning of all that, put to death the most principal Citizens, and easily

easily betray'd the Place into his Father's Hands. Af- U. C.
ter this, *Tarquin* made a League with the *Aqui*, a 232.
neighbouring People between the *Volsci* and the *Sabines*,
and renew'd that with the *Hetrurians*.

Tarquin, having got great Riches and Spoils from
Suessa-Pometia, resolv'd to set about the Temple his
Grand-Father had design'd; and when he found some
Respite from War, he employ'd a great number of
Work-men about it. At their digging to lay the U. C.
Foundation, a Man's Head was found bleeding a- 240.
fresh, belonging to one *Tolus*, which gave the Name
of *CAPITOL* to the Building. It was seated upon *Capitol*.
a high Crag or Rock on Mount *Capitoline*, which
from *Romulus's* time had been call'd *Mons Tarpeius*, and
before that *Saturnius*. It was eight Acres in compass,
200 Foot long, and as many broad wanting 15 Foot,
its height being equal to its length; a most magni-
ficent Building, dedicated to *Jupiter* in Chief, but
containing three Temples within the same Walls, the
middle belonging to *Jupiter*, and the other two to
Juno and *Minerva*, all under the same Roof. It had
a noble Front, looking towards the *Sub*, to the
grand *Forum*, the most frequented part of the whole
City. It had also a stately Porch or Gallery, with
three Rows of Pillars each side having a double Row;
and to this they ascended by an hundred Steps,
with large Spaces between several of 'em. To carry
on this great Work, *Tarquin* employ'd much of the
Publick Money and Stock, and likewise the Labour
of the Common People; but the Building was not
finish'd till two Years after his Banishment.

The Building of the *Capitol* was not only counted
a great Ornament to the City, in respect of Magni-
ficence, but was likewise looked upon as a very great
Blessing upon the account of Religion: And in the
same Reign another, as great in their Opinion, hapned
likewise to the *Romans*, which was this. A certain
strange Woman came to the King, offering to sell
E him

him nine Books of the Oracles of *Sibyl*. He refusing to buy 'em at her Rate, she went away, and burning three of 'em, return'd, demanding as much for the six remaining. Being laugh'd at for a Mad-Woman, she again departed, and burning half of 'em, return'd with the other three, still asking as much as at first. *Tarquin*, surpriz'd at the Strangeness of the Thing, immediately sent for the *Augurs* to know her Meaning; who much blam'd him for not buying the nine, and advis'd him to buy the three at the same Rate. The Woman, after the Sale and Delivery, advising him to have a special care of 'em, vanish'd, and was never after seen, as *Dionysius* relates the Story. *Tarquin* chose two Men out of the Nobility to keep them, to whom he allow'd two Publick Servants; but afterwards, in the time of the Common-wealth, they were kept with the greatest Care imaginable, some eminent Persons of the Nobility being chosen and appointed to keep 'em in a Stone Chest, in a Vault under the *Capitol*; and these were exempted from all other Burthens both Military and Civil; and for them only it was lawful to look in 'em. These Oracle's were consulted by the *Senate's* Decree in times of Seditions, Plagues, and any Publick Calamities; and were kept here till they perish'd with the burning of the *Capitol*.

U. C.
244.

III. The People being so much employ'd for four Years together about the building of the *Capitol*, began to make some Complaints; but *Tarquin*, to satisfie 'em, but especially to recruit his own Coffers, proclaim'd War against the *Rutuli*, a People joyning to the *Latines*, the *Volsci*, and the Sea, pretending they had receiv'd and entertain'd some *Roman* Exiles; and upon that account he invest'd *Ardea*, their Metropolis, a City 16 Miles South-East of *Rome*. While he lay before this Place, his Son *Sextus*, with *Tarquinius* *Colatinus*, the Son of *Egerius* *Priscus's* Nephew, and some

some of the Principal Courtiers, were drinking together in the Camp; where there hapned a Discourse concerning their Wives, each Man praising his own to a very high Degree, which occasioned a kind of a Quarrel. *Collatinus* told 'em, *It was in vain to talk, when their Eyes might so soon convince 'em how much his Lucretia excell'd the rest, if they wou'd but immediately put it to a Tryal*; whereat they all cry'd, *Come on*, and being well heated with Wine, they took Horse without Delay, and posted for *Rome*. From thence they rod to *Collatia* to see *Lucretia*, where coming late at night, they found her, not like the rest of their Wives, spending her Time in Ease and Idleness, but in the midst of her Maids hard at Work. Her Goodness and Modesty, as well as her Shape and Beauty, so charm'd 'em all, that they unanimously gave her the Preference. *Collatinus* made a noble Entertainment for his Guests, and the next Day return'd with 'em to the Camp.

Sextus, now inflam'd by *Lucretia's* Beauty, and the more by the Reputation of her fam'd Chastity, was resolv'd to enjoy her upon any Terms; therefore, within few days after, he went privately with one Servant to *Collatia*, where he was kindly entertained by her, and without any Suspicion, lodg'd in the House. At Midnight he found Means to convey himself into her Bed-Chamber, approach'd her Bed-side with his drawn Sword, and laying his hand on her Breast, threatned her with present Death if she offer'd to stir or speak. The poor Lady, affrighted out of her Sleep, and seeing Death so nigh, was in the greatest confusion imaginable; but *Sextus* at first, with all the Prayers and Intreaties, told her the Violence of his Passion, withal, endeavour'd to corrupt her with the glittering Promises of Empire and a Crown, but all in vain. At last he told her, *If she wou'd not yield, he wou'd first kill her, then lay his own Slave dead by her side, and report it was for surprizing her in Adultery with him*;

by which means he obtain'd his End; and in the Morning he departed. *Lucretia*, inrag'd at this barbarous Usage, immediately sent for her Father from *Rome*, and her Husband from the Camp; desiring them to bring with 'em some particular and special Friends, for a dreadful Mischief, and that of the vastest Importance, had befallen her. With her Father *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, and with her Husband, *Lucius Junius Brutus*; who finding her in her Chamber, in a most lamentable and desperate Condition, she told 'em the whole Matter, and rejecting all Thoughts of Comfort, she most solemnly adjur'd 'em all with the most powerful Perswasions imaginable, *To revenge her Cause to the utmost*, and immediately with her Knife stabb'd her self to the Heart, as the truest Instance she cou'd give of her real Chastity.

The whole Company were stricken with a Mixture of Sadness and Amazement at the greatness, as well as strangeness of the Act; but while they were lamenting over the dead Body, *Brutus* catching at this Opportunity, now threw off his long Disguise, giving them to understand, *How far different he was from the Person they always took him for*; and further shew'd 'em most manifest Tokens of the Greatness of his Spirit, and the Depth of his Policy. He told 'em, *That Tears and Lamentations cou'd never be bear'd, whilst Vengeance cry'd so loud*; thereupon, in a great Rage, going to the Body, and drawing the bloody Knife from out the Wound, swore by *Mars*, and all the Celestial Powers above, *Utterly to exterminate Tarquin with his Impious Wife and Progeny, to prosecute them and all their Friends with the utmost Rage of Fire and Sword, and never after to suffer the Tarquins or any other to Reign in Rome*. Then he deliver'd the Knife to the rest, who, all wondring at so great a Change in *Brutus*, swore as he had done; and turning their effeminate Sorrow to a masculine Fury, they resolv'd to follow his Instructions, and extirpate Kingly Government. *Brutus*, as
soon

soon as he cou'd, procur'd the Gates of the City to be shut, that all might be kept secret from *Tarquin*, till such time as the People might be assembled, the dead Body expos'd, and a publick Decree for his Banishment procur'd.

The Senate being assembled, all shew'd their Willingness to banish *Tarquin*, but at first had very different Opinions concerning the new Modelling of the Government, which probably might make it a tedious Business. *Brutus* represented to 'em the absolute Necessity of a quick Dispatch, and immediately prescrib'd 'em a Form of Government; shewing them, That before *Tarquin's* violating his own and his Predecessors Oath, Rome had been both happy and famous, both for her Acts abroad, and her Constitutions at home; and that the Regal Power had at last been dangerous, and almost destructive to the Security of the State, and the Safety of the People; and therefore was not to be trusted in one Man's hands, but two were to be chosen, who shou'd govern with equal Authority and Command. Then, because Names alone were offensive to many People, he thought that of Kingdom was to be left off, and the other of Commonwealth to be assum'd; and, instead of the Title of King and Monarch, some more Modest and Popular was to be invented; as likewise were some of their Ensigns to be laid aside, and others to be retain'd. That the main Thing to keep these Magistrates in Order, was, to prevent their perpetual Power; and if they were Annual, after the manner of Athens, each might learn both how to be Subject, and how to Govern. Lastly, That the name of King might not be wholly lost, the Title was to be given to one who shou'd be call'd *Rex Sacrorum*, who having this Honour for Life, and Immunity from Warfare, shou'd only concern himself with those Religious Rites which the King had Charge of before. The Particulars of this Speech were all approv'd of by the Senate, who immediately issu'd out a Decree for the King's Banishment in this Form, That the *Tarquinii* shou'd be banish'd with all their Off-

Rex Sacrorum.

spring, and that it should be Capital for any one to speak or act for their Return.

Brutus having procur'd all this, the Comitia were immediately assembled by him, and the Body of Lucretia, all dismally bloody, brought, and set there for a pittiful Spectacle to all the People. There Brutus, to their great Surprise, discover'd himself, telling 'em the Reasons of his long and strange Dissimulation, and the great Occasion of their present Meeting, withal shewing 'em the Senates's Decree. Then he fell to enumerating all the several Crimes and Villanies of Tarquin, particularly, That he had Poyson'd his own Brother, Strangled his Wife, Murder'd his lawful Sovereign, and fill'd Ditches and Common-Sewers with the Bodies of the Nobility: That he came to the Kingdom an Usurper, and continu'd in it a Tyrant; being treacherous to his greatest Friends, and barbarous to all Mankind: That his three Sons were of a Temper as Insolent and Tyrannical as himself, especially the Eldest, of which they now had a sad and doleful Instance before their Eyes. That since the King was absent, and the Patricians all resolv'd, neither Men, Money, nor Foreign Aid shou'd be wanting to 'em, had they but Courage for the Enterprize. Urging withal, that it was a shame to think of Commanding the Volsci, Sabines, and Nations abroad, and be Slaves to others at home; and to maintain so many Wars to serve the ambitious Ends of a Tyrant, and not undertake one for their own Liberty. And that as for the Army at the Siege, their own Interest in all Respects wou'd oblige 'em to joyn in what ever was agreed upon in the City.

The Multitude, transported with the Hopes of Liberty, and charm'd with the Person and graceful Behaviour of Brutus, with loud Acclamations gave their Assent, and immediately call'd for Arms. Lucretius was appointed Inter-rex for holding the Comitia, who strait adjourn'd it to the Campus Martius, where Magistrates were elected in their Armour. There he nominated Brutus and Colatinus, to exercise the Regal Power,

Power, as they before had agreed on among themselves, and the *Centuries* confirm'd 'em by their Suffrages. In the mean time, *Tarquin* having heard something of these Things, came riding in all haste to the City, with his Sons, and some of his most trusty Friends, to prevent the Mischiefs that threatned him; but finding the Gates fast shut, and the Walls full of Armed Men, in great Grief he return'd to the Camp. But *Brutus* foreseeing his sudden Coming, had got before him to the Army another Way, and acquainted them with the Decree both of Senate and People, pressing 'em hard to a Revolt. Immediately their Suffrages were call'd over according to their *Centuries*, and they unanimously agreed to do just as their Friends in the City had done; so that when *Tarquin* return'd, they refus'd to admit him. Thus frustrated of His hopes, he went to *Gabii*, or to *Cære* in *Hetruria*, now Grey-headed, having reign'd 25 Years. *Her. U. C.*
winus and *Horatius*, Chief Commanders of the Army, 245.
made a Truce with the Enemy for 15 Years, and raising the Siege before *Ardea*, return'd to *Rome* with all their Forces.

IV. Thus ended the *Regal State of Rome*, 245 Years after the Building of the City, in the first Year of the 68th Olympiad, A. M. 3496, 31 Years after the Ruine of the *Babylonian Empire*, and the setting up of the *Persian*, 179 before the beginning of the *Macedonian*, and 507 before our Saviour *Christ*, occasion'd by a Man who knew neither how to govern according to the Laws, nor yet to reign against them. The *Roman Dominions* now contain'd most of old *Latium*, with the greatest part of *Sabina*, a considerable part of *Hetruria*, particularly of the *Veientes*, *Cerretanes*, and *Tarquini*, besides some small parts of the *Volsci* and *Aqui*; being much about 40 Miles long and 30 broad; a spot of Ground not so large by a fourth part as either *Modena*, *Parma*, or *Mantua*,
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and not much larger than the Common-wealth of *Luca*; so that this was rightly term'd by Historians, the *Infancy of Rome*, especially since most of these Parts were both able and ready to Revolt upon every little Occasion, as the *Romans* often found afterwards; so that it cost 'em many Years Trouble, and many hazardous Wars before they cou'd wholly subdue 'em, and much enlarge their Dominions.

If we look upon the City it self at this time, we may find it encreased after a far greater Proportion than formerly, and its large Extent, its numerous Inhabitants, and its magnificent Structures, were happy Fore-runners of its future Grandeur and Empire. And these, together with the wise Institutions of its Prince, and the great Prudence and Gravity of its *Senate*, were the Things that supported it, and preserv'd it so long from Ruine, in the midst of so many envious Neighbours and powerful Enemies; tho' indeed the Inhabitants themselves were an extream rough and unpolish'd People, little acquainted with Knowledge and Learning, and far unlike their Successors in Skill and Conduct: Their Engagements were more like so many Tumults than real Battels, where Obstinacy in Fighting generally supply'd the place of Discipline in War; but they had the good Fortune to deal with Neighbours who had more Barbarity and Ignorance than themselves. In short, what may truly be affirm'd of the old *Romans*, is, they were a People of most extraordinary Courage and Fierceness, a People of strange Hardiness and Austerity of Life, a People of indefatigable Industry, and wonderful Lovers of their Country; and from these Springs afterwards proceeded many great and noble Actions.

Before the Conclusion of this First Book, to make the *Roman History* as clear and intelligible as possible, it may be convenient to give a Hint of the several Countries the *Romans* afterwards became Masters of. First *Gaul*, which was then inhabited by an unciviliz'd,

liz'd, tho' a Warlike People, was broken and divided into a great number of petty Governments. *Spain* and *Germany* was much in the same Condition, and *Britain* not much better, as likewise was *Dacia* and *Illyricum*. *Greece* was in a most flourishing wealthy Condition, under several Monarchs of Renown, and powerful Common-wealths, but not long after became subject to the *Macedonian* Empire. *Asia minor* was almost in the same Condition, then subjected to the *Persian*, and next to the *Macedonian* Empires, but at last partly freed from the latter. *Armenia* was a considerable Monarchy. *Syria*, *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, were all powerful States, but successively subject to the *Persian* and *Macedonian* Empires, the first of which prov'd a seperate Kingdom. *Judea* was a small but noble Kingdom. *Egypt* was also a flourishing Kingdom, subject to its own Kings. *Africa* was a powerful and growing Common-wealth, who had *Sicily* in a great measure. As for *Italy* it self, that was divided among many petty Nations and People, as was observ'd in the beginning.

The End of the First Book.

THE
Roman History.

B O O K II

*The Consular State of ROME,
From the Beginning of that Go-
vernment, to the Ruin of it by
the first Triumvirate.*

Containing the Space of 449 Years.

C H A P. I.

*From the Banishment of the last King, to the
first Dictator, which was the first Inter-
mission of the Consular Power.*

Containing the space of 10 Years.

I. **T**HE State of Affairs in Rome was now wholly alter'd, and the Government quite chang'd; Restoration of Ancient Priviledges was the Peoples constant Discourse, and an odd mixture of Fury and Cunning ran through the whole Body of the Nation, which caus'd 'em to put down Kingly Government, and set up that of *Consuls*. These High Officers were two in Num-
U. C.
245.

Number, first call'd *Prætors*, next *Judices*, and afterwards *Consuls*, a *Consulendo*, from Counselling or Consulting the Common Good of the People: They were yearly elected by the People in the *Centuriata Comitia*, out of the *Patricians*, being Persons no less than 43 Years old, or nigh, and of excellent Qualifications, as long as there was little or no Corruptions. The Consular Power was at first equal to the *Regal*, till in a little time *Poplicola* brought in the Liberty of *Appealing* to the People: Yet, after this, their Authority was very large, for they were the Heads of the People and Senate, superiour to all other Magistrates, govern'd the State, dispos'd of the Publick Revenues, administer'd Justice, call'd and dismiss'd the Senate, and all General Assemblies, had all the Laws enacted in their Names, led Armies, appointed Officers, treated with all Foreign Princes and Embassadors, and did many other things in their own Names. They had also the Royal Ornaments us'd by the Kings, as the Golden Crown, Scepter, Purple Robes, White Robes, the twelve *Lictors*, with the *Axes* and *Fasces*, the Ivory and Curule Chairs; only to prevent the People's Jealousies, the Crowns and Scepters were never us'd but upon extraordinary Days of Triumph; and commonly one was attended by the *Axes*, and the other by the *Rods*, changing each Month. The first Consuls were *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, who had been the Authors of this Settlement; and they immediately reviv'd the Laws of *Servius Tullius*, concerning Publick Meetings and Assemblies, with other things that conduc'd to the Satisfaction of the common sort, who look'd upon their ancient Rights as newly recover'd.

Before Affairs were rightly settled in the Commonwealth, some Embassadors from *Hetruria* arriv'd at *Rome*, in behalf of the late King *Tarquin*, who was now so mortifi'd, and so sensible of his Mismanagement, that he made very large Promises of all Civil Treatment for the future, If they wou'd receive him as their lawful King. When this demand cou'd not be heard

heard, the Embassadors only desir'd, That he might have his Goods return'd him, at least such as were his Grand-father Priscus's, who had deserv'd no Ill at their hands. But Brutus very violently oppos'd that Demand, as being almost as dangerous as the other, he esteeming it no good Policy to furnish an Enemy with Money against themselves; however his Colleague *Collatine* readily comply'd with it, but putting it to the Vote it pass'd in the Negative, the Voices being very nigh equal. The Embassadors meeting with no Success, according to their Instructions, made several plausible Excuses for tarrying in Rome longer than ordinary; and in that time, by their cunning Management and fair Promises, found means to draw over some of *Collatine's* Family to their sides, namely, two of the *Aquilii*, and three of the *Vitellii*, together with Brutus's two Sons, *Titus* and *Tiberius*. These, with some other, all joyn'd in a Conspiracy, keeping their private Meetings at the House of the *Aquilii*, there to consult about and order their Business, which was to kill both the Consuls, and to endeavour to re-inthronè *Tarquin*.

These Conspirators cou'd not long conceal their Designs, but were discover'd by a Slave call'd *Vindicius*, who had accidentally hid himself in the same Room, fearing to be found there, and not having time to come out. Now *Vindicius*, fearing to discover this strange Accident to either of the Consuls, upon the Account of such a nigh Relation, went directly to *Valerius*, afterwards call'd *Poplicola*, a great Assistant in this Revolution, and laid open the whole Plot. *Valerius* was much startled at the Discovery, therefore to proceed warily, he first secur'd the Slave to have him forth-coming; then sending his Brother *Marcus* to beset the King's Palace, and watch all the Servants there, he himself, with his Friends and Clients went to the House of the *Aquilii*, where he seiz'd on several Letters writ to *Tarquin* by these Conspirators. The *Aquilii* being abroad, met
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'em at the Gate, where they endeavour'd to recover the Letters by force of Arms; but *Valerius*, by the help of his Followers, violently dragg'd 'em to the *Forum*, where he found some of the King's Servants with other Letters, who had been likewise forc'd thither by his Brother *Marcus*. The People throng'd on all sides, but the Consul's Sons drew the Eyes of the whole Multitude upon 'em, and several Tumults were like to arise, till both the Consuls came, and ascending the Tribunal, appeas'd all.

Vindicius was immediately sent for by *Valerius's* Order, and coming before the Consuls, he told the whole Story at large, and for a greater Proof against 'em, the Letters were read Publickly before all, *Brutus* all the while inwardly burning with Rage and Fury. The Accused Parties said nothing for themselves, but all stood wonderfully astonish'd, and in a profound Silence; till at last some, to flatter *Brutus*, propos'd Banishment as a sufficient Punishment, and *Colatine's* Tears, with *Valerius's* Silence, gave the Prisoners great Hopes. But *Brutus* at last rose up, with a stern Majesty and a Resolution to do something that the World shou'd wonder at, he call'd a loud to both his Sons, *Canst not thou, O Titus, nor thou, Tiberius, make any Defence against these Crimes, now laid to your Charge?* This Question he put to them three several Times, and receiving no Answer, he turn'd himself to the Lictors and Executioners, saying, *Now 'tis your Part to perform the rest.* Nor could all the Sentiments of Paternal Pity, nor all the sad pleading Looks of the People, nor yet the lamentable Complaints of the unhappy Youths, move the Firmness of his Resolution; but presently the Lictors seiz'd on the two Young Men, and stripping 'em, ty'd their hands behind them, then tore their Bodies with Scourges, and presently after beheaded 'em; *Brutus* all the time gazing on the cruel Spectacle with a most steady Look and unalter'd Countenance, while the Multitude look'd on with a strange Mixture of Pity and Amazement. *Brutus* after this Execution

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immediately departed the Assembly, leaving the rest of the Criminals to the Discretion of his Collegue.

Collatine's Backwardness in punishing the Prisoners, encourag'd the *Aquilii* to desire some Time to answer, and to have their Slave *Vindicius* deliver'd up to 'em, and not to continue in the hands of their Accusers. *Collatine* was ready to do both, and to dismiss the Assembly, when *Valerius*, who had the Slave in his hands, wou'd neither deliver him, nor suffer the People to break up without censuring the Accused; but immediately laid hands on the *Aquilii*, and sent for *Brutus*, exclaiming against *Collatine's* partial Dealings, whereupon the Consul in a Rage commanded the Lictors to take away *Vindicius*, who laying hold on him by main force, were assaulted by *Valerius's* Friends, the People all the while crying out for *Brutus*. Upon his appearing, Silence being made, he told the People, He had shewn himself a sufficient Lover of his Country by his Justice to his Sons, and left the other Delinquents to them, giving leave to every Man to speak freely. They immediately put it to the Vote, and condemn'd 'em to be beheaded, which was presently executed. *Collatine* finding the People so set against him, partly for the sake of his high Relation to *Tarquin*, and partly for his Behaviour in this Business, willingly resign'd his Place, and departed the City. *Valerius* was strait chosen Consul in his room, who, to reward *Vindicius*, made him Free, allowing him some Priviledges above former Freed Men; and from him a perfect and full Manumission was afterwards call'd *Vindicta*. This done, *Vindicta*. the Consuls divided *Tarquin's* Goods among the People, demolish'd his Palace, and laid the *Campus Martius*, which he had kept to himself, open as before; and there happening to be Corn there which had been newly cut down, they threw it into the River; and after that the Trees which grew there, which fastning in the Ground, and stopping the Rubbish that was brought down by the Stream, at last grew into an Island, which they call'd *Insula Sacra*. *Insula Sacra*.

U. C.

246.

II. *Tarquin* now finding all his Endeavours ineffectual, drew together a great Army of *Hetrurians*, and advanced towards *Rome*. The Consuls likewise drew out theirs to oppose him, and upon their joyning, the two Generals, *Arms* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the Consul, imprudently singled out each other, and fighting with more Zeal and Fury than Conduct and Discretion, were both Slain. A very bloody Battel follow'd between both Armies, which the Night parted, but with such equal Fortune, that neither Party had much reason to boast; but in the Night-time, either from a Voice out of a Grove, as the common Story goes, *That the Hetrurians had lost one Man more than the Romans*, or from some other extraordinary Fright, the Enemy abandon'd their Camp, and being fallen upon by the *Romans*, were nigh 5000 taken Prisoners, having lost 11300 in the Battel before. For this Victory, *Valerius* triumph'd at his return to the City, after a more magnificent Manner than any before him; whose Example was always observ'd by Posterity. Soon after, he bury'd his Colleague *Brutus* with great Honour, making himself a Funeral Oration in his Commendation; and this Custom was continu'd in *Rome* for the future, upon the Death of all great and memorable Persons. There was such an universal Concern through all the City for *Brutus's* Death, that the Women by general consent mourn'd for him a whole Twelvemonth, which was two Months more than *Numa* had appointed.

Valerius now sole Governour, deferr'd the Election of a another Consul, that he might the more easily settle the Common-wealth himself; but the People complaining, and fearing another *Tarquin*, he soon let them see their Mistake by his Courteous Behaviour and ready Compliance with all their Desires, even to the demolishing his own House, which they thought too large and stately for him. His courteous and obliging Carriage, and his Bowing to the People in the Assembly, got him the name of *Poplicola*.

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He first fill'd up the Senate, which wanted 164 Persons, then made several Laws in favour of the People; and for the Retrenchment of the Consular Power. By one, he allow'd an *Appeal* from the Consuls to the People. By another, he made it Death for any Man to take any Magistrate's Office without the Peoples Consent. A third, gave Relief to poor Citizens, by taking away the payment of Tribute. Another, punish'd Disobedience to Consuls, and appointed a Penalty of five Oxen, and two Sheep; a Sheep being in those days valu'd at ten *Oboli*, (each *Obolus* 1 d. 1 q.) and an Ox at a hundred. Another Law gave Power to any Man to kill the Person unheard, who affected the Supreme Power, if he cou'd demonstrate the Crime. The last Law was for the Creation of Two *Quæstors* or Publick Treasurers, who were to take care of the Publick Monies and Contributions, and appointed the Temple of *Saturn* for the *Ærarium* or Treasury. These Officers were so nam'd à *querendo*, because they enquir'd after the Publick Money, and likewise after Malefactors. Some say *Romulus* and *Numa* had their *Quæstors*, but then they were for Punishment, such as were afterwards the *Triumviri* for Capital Matters. This *Quæstorship* was the first step to the Offices of Magistracy, and they were likewise to keep the Military Ensigns in the Treasury, to sell Plunder and Booty, lodge and carry out Ambassadors, and several other things. Their Number was afterwards very much increas'd, till in the time of *Cæsar* they came to forty; some being us'd for the Armies, and others for the Princes. Of which, these two of the first Creation were term'd *Urbani*, the rest *Provinciales*, and *Militares*.

Poplicola having thus settled Affairs, held an Assembly for the Election of another Consul; where *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, was chosen, to whom, as being the Elder, *Poplicola* granted the *Fasces*, or Bundle of Rods, which respect of Age was ever ob-

serv'd by their Successors. *Lucretius* dying a few days after his Creation, was succeeded by *M. Horatius*, in whose time the *Capitol* was finish'd, and the Dedication of it fell to *Horatius*, much against *Poplicola's* will, who was forc'd to be abroad in the Wars at the same time. This was perform'd with a great deal of Pomp and Solemnity, and with a great Concourse of People of all sorts. In the same Year was the first League made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, as *Polibius* has it; wherein it was provided, that the *Romans* shou'd not Sail beyond the *Fair Promontory*, which lay before *Carthage* towards the North; but were allow'd to Traffick in all that Part of *Africa* on this side the *Promontory*, as also in *Sardinia*, and that part of *Sicily* that was then under the *Carthaginians*. From whence it appears, that the *Carthaginians* look'd upon *Africa* and *Sardinia* as all their own, but *Sicily* only in part; but the *Romans* included in this League only *Latium*, making no mention of the rest of *Italy*, which was not in their Power. In a little time after *Horatius's* Election, the time coming for new Consuls to be made, *Poplicola* was chosen a second time, and with him *Lucretius Tricipitanius*, in whose time a *Census* being perform'd, 130000 were cessed or valu'd, besides Widows and Orphans.

U. C.
247.

III. Before *Poplicola's* second Consulship was out, *Tarquin* after his last Defeat, had betaken himself to the *Clusim*, one of the twelve Nations of *Ettruria*, and had procur'd *Porfena*, King of *Clusum*, and of great Power, to undertake his Quarrel. *Poplicola* to appear as great as this King, founded the City *Siglinus*, or rather *Signia*, while he was approaching, which he fortifi'd with great Expence, and planted it with a Colony of 700 Inhabitants. But *Porfena* march'd directly to *Rome*, laid a close Siege to it, and made a furious Attack upon the Place; in which Contest the

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Two Consuls with much ado repulsing the *Hetrurians*, were both wounded and carri'd off. Upon which the *Romans* were much disheartned, and flying in great Disorder, were closely pursu'd by the Enemy to the Bridge, who wou'd also undoubtedly have enter'd the Town with 'em, had not *Horatius Coecles*, with only *Herminius* and *Lartius*, most valiantly oppos'd 'em. *Coecles* defended the Passage with a wonderful Bravery, till his own Party found time to break down the Bridge, then cast himself arm'd, as he was, into the River, and swam over to his Friends, having receiv'd a Wound with a Spear in his Passage over. *Poplicola*, to reward him for this extraordinary Piece of Service, gave him several great Priviledges, and appointed a Statue to be erected to his Memory in the Temple of *Vulcan*. *Porfena* held the Siege a long time, and put the City to great Straits; but *Poplicola*, now exercising his third Consulship, together with his last years Collegue, drew out his Forces, engag'd the King, overthrew him, and kill'd 5000 of his Men.

Nevertheless, the Siege continued, till *Mutius*, a Man of a most undaunted Courage, resolving to attempt the Life of *Porfena*, tho amidst his Soldiers, put on a *Tuscan* Habit, and using that Language, came into the Camp, where by a Mistake he stab'd the King's Secretary, who sat nigh him, instead of the King himself. Being apprehended, and ready to be examin'd, he like a Person more dreadful to others than fearful himself, courageously thrust his right Hand into the Fire, intending to punish it for so great a Mistake, all the while beholding *Porfena* with a steady and angry Countenance, who stricken and amaz'd at the greatness of his Resolution, dismiss'd him with much Applause, and reach'd him his Sword back from his Throne. *Mutius* taking it with his Left hand (whence he had the Name of *Scævola*) told the King, *That the Nobleness of his Generosity had more van-*

quish'd him than all the Terrors of his Threats; and that in requital he wou'd reveal a Secret to him, which no Torments shou'd ever have extorted from him: That Three hundred Romans in the Camp were now waiting for his Life; that the first Attempt was laid out for him; but now he was extreemly satisfi'd that he had so happily miss'd killing a Person, whose Magnanimity better entitl'd him to the Friendship, than the Hatred of the Roman Nation. Porsena hearing this, was immediately inclin'd to an Accommodation, not out of Fear of the 300 Men, but in Admiration of the Roman Courage. Poplicola was well pleas'd with the Proposal, and agreed to make him Arbitrator between Tarquin and the People; but Tarquin resolutely refus'd to admit of any Judge; much less Porsena, Who, as he said, had promis'd him Aid, and now basely falsifi'd his Word. Porsena, angry at this, immediately made Peace with the Romans upon these Articles; That the Romans shou'd quit those Tuscan Lands, which they had taken from the Veientes, restore all Prisoners, and receive all their Deserters.

For the ratifying this Peace the Romans depos'd Twenty Hostages, Ten young Men, and as many Virgins, among which was Valeria, the Daughter of Poplicola. All Acts of Hostility ceasing, Clælia, a bold Virago, and one of the Hostages, got from her Keepers, and at the Head of the rest of the Virgins, swam over the River Tiber, amidst the Darts of the Enemies; and being all got home, they presented themselves before Poplicola; but he fearing the dangerous Consequences such an Act might occasion, sent them all back to Porsena; which Tarquin understanding, laid an Ambuscade for them and their Convoy, but they were rescu'd by Aruns, Porsena's Son. Porsena examining them, was so much taken with the extraordinary Courage and good Behaviour of Clælia, presented her with one of his own Horses sumptuously equip'd, and gave her Power of disposing of a set number of the

Hostages,

Hostages, which she did with much Discretion, chusing out the Youngest, as being less able to bear Injuries and Hardships. Then to give a further Testimony of his great Respect to the *Romans*, besides other pieces of Magnificence, he commanded all his Soldiers to leave the Camp with only their Arms, delivering to the *Romans* his Tents well furnish'd with Provisions and Riches. On the other side, the *Romans* to shew their Gratitude, and to preserve his Memory, erected a Statue for him by the Senate House; and another to *Clælia*, as *Livy* has it, which was a *Maid on Horseback*, in the Street call'd *Via Sacra*; giving likewise to *Mutius* a Field beyond the *Tiber*, afterwards call'd *Mutia Prata*. Thus ended the *Hebrurian War*, much to *Tarquin's* Dissatisfaction; and soon after *Herminius* and *Lartius*, who had so bravely defended the Bridge, were together chosen *Consuls*.

IV. A year or two after, the *Sabines* began to be very troublesome, making Incursions into the *Roman Territories*. *M. Valerius* being one of the *Consuls*, by the Instructions of his Brother *Poplicola*, obtain'd great Honours, overthrowing 'em twice, the last time killing 13000. with little or no Loss of the *Romans*. Besides his Triumph, he had the additional Honour of a House built for him at the publick Charge. The Year following, when *Poplicola* was Consul the fourth time, the whole Nation of the *Sabines* joyn'd in Confederacy with the *Latins* against *Rome*; but *Appius Clausus*, an Eminent Man among the *Sabines* for Riches, Valour, and Eloquence, being much against the War, first retarded their Preparations, then after a little time came over to the *Romans* with 5000 Families of his Friends and Dependants. These had a considerable quantity of Land, and large Priviledges allow'd 'em, besides their Freedom, especially *Clausus* himself, who was made also a Senator; and the *Clausi*, afterwards call'd *Claudii*, became as great a Family as *Claudii*.

U. C.

249.

any in *Rome*. Soon after this, the *Tribes* of the *Roman* State were encreased from Four to One and twenty, and one of the Four in the City was call'd *Tribus Claudia*, from the foremention'd *Appius Claudius*; and this remarkable Change happ'n'd in the 250th Year of this City, but upon what Account, and by whose Means it was effected, Historians are very silent.

The *Sabines* having made all necessary Preparations, advanc'd with all the Troops to *Fidena*, laying an Ambuscade of 2000 Foot; wherof *Poplicola* having some Notice by Deserters, he divided his Forces into three Parts, and taking the advantage of a Mist, fell upon the Enemy on so many Sides, that only the Nighness of *Fidena* sav'd 'em from being all out off; the *Romans* obtaining large Plunder, and *Poplicola* a noble Triumph. Not long after, *Poplicola* having ended his Consulship, di'd; and the People to shew their Respect to so great and serviceable a Person, decreed he shou'd be bur'd at the Publick Charge, and by a favour peculiar to that Family alone, within the City. This was perform'd with an equal Mixture of Pomp and Sorrow; the Women, by a general Consent, mourning for him a whole Year, as they had before done for *Brutus*. In the same year, *Posthumius* and *Mencius* being Consuls, the *Sabines* once more drawing together a numerous Army, march'd up almost to the Walls of *Rome*. As the Consuls advanc'd towards 'em, *Posthumius* fell into an Ambuscade, lost many of his Men, and narrowly escap'd himself; which unlucky Disadvantage put the Citizens into so great a Consternation, that they ran back with all speed to their Walls, expecting when the Enemy shou'd fall upon the City. But the Enemy making no such Attempt, they march'd out again, resolving to redeem their lost Credit; and *Posthumius* more concern'd than the rest, behav'd himself nobly, and together with his Collegue, obtain'd a notable Victory, which had been finish'd with the entire Ruin of the *Sabines*, had not the Night interpos'd.

For

U. C.
251.

For the greatness of this Victory, the Senate decreed *Menenius* a full Triumph; but *Posthumius*, by reason of his ill Success in the beginning, had only an inferior one, which the *Romans* call'd *Ovation*, so nam'd from the letter O, as it is said, which the Soldiers in way of Joy were wont to eccho at their return from Victory, whereas in Triumph they cri'd *Io Triumphe!* Now an *Ovation* differ'd from a *Triumph*, properly so call'd, in these Particulars; namely, that in an *Ovation*, the General enter'd the City on foot, and not in a Chariot; that he was met only by the Knights and Gentlemen, not by the Senators in their Robes; that he himself had only the *prætexta toga*, the ordinary Habit of Consuls and Prætors, and not the Robe interwoven with Gold: And lastly, That he had not a Scepter in his Hand, but had only Laurel, and a wreath of Myrtle on his Head. The Year following, *Cassius* and *Virginus* being Consuls, the *Sabines* receiv'd another great Overthrow at *Cures*, 10300 being kill'd, and 4000 taken Prisoners; which Defeat forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and purchase it with Corn, Money, and part of their Lands. While *Cassius* did this good Service against the *Sabines*, his Colleague *Virginus* subdu'd the *Camarinæans*, who had revolted, and having executed the Ring-leaders, he sold the rest, and demolish'd the City: And thus ended the *Sabine* Contests for a while.

V. *Tarquin* still restless and unsatisfi'd, by the Assistance of *Mamilius Octavius*, his Son-in-Law, stirr'd up the whole Body of the *Latines* to declare War against *Rome*; and moreover, had procur'd *Fidena* to revolt. But the Senate prudently declin'd making War with all the *Latines*, well knowing that many of 'em were rather inclin'd to live in Peace; therefore at first they block'd up *Fidena*, which had receiv'd some of *Tarquin's* Forces. *Tarquin* meeting with no great Success, now endeavour'd to bring his Designs

about a more easy Way, by fomenting Differences and Quarrels between the Rich and Poorer sort of *Rome*; for the effecting of which, he happen'd on a very fit Time for his purpose. For about this time, the Common People, who were burden'd by Usury, were much dissatisfi'd with the present State of Affairs, especially with the unreasonable Severity of Creditors, who generally seiz'd upon the Body of their Debtors, and us'd 'em worse than Slaves. *Tarquin* being sensible of all this, sent certain of his Friends with good Quantities of Gold, giving 'em some in hand, and promising more after the King's Restoration, and thereby procur'd a Conspiracy of many poor Citizens, and discontented Slaves. But the whole Matter was soon discover'd to *Sulpicius*, one of the Consuls, who after he had return'd a very civil Denial to the *Latin* Ambassadors, then present about Business, by a Wile drew the Conspirators into the *Forum*; where, incompassing 'em about, he put 'em all to the Sword.

These dangerous Stirs being thus allai'd for a time, the Consuls of this and the following Year look'd abroad, and in no long time *Fidena* was yielded to *Largius Flavius*. The *Latins* now inrag'd at the Loss of this Town, began to complain of their principal Men; which Opportunity *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* so far improv'd, as to procure all the *Latin* Cities, 24 in number, to declare War against the *Romans*; withal ingaging them, that none shou'd forsake the Interest of the Associates, nor make any separate Peace, which they seal'd with dreadful Oaths and Curses against them who should break the Confederacy, who were to be held as Enemies by all the rest. The *Latins* made very great Preparations, as likewise did the *Romans*, but the latter cou'd procure no Auxiliaries abroad, therefore were forced to rely all upon their Domestick Strength, which Necessity made the better sort more courageous and valiant. But in levying men, to the great surprize of the Consuls and Senate, the poorer sort

fort and Debtors, which were very numerous, refus'd to lift themselves, except their Debts were all remitted by a Decree of Senate; nay, some began to talk of leaving the City, *since they cou'd have no good Life while they were there.*

The *Patritians* endeavour'd to appease the Multitude by gentle words, but all in vain; upon which the Senate fell into a serious Debate about this weighty Matter. There some were for a free Remission of all Debts, as the safest and securest way at that Juncture; others urg'd the dangerous Consequences of this Condescension, advising 'em to lift such as wou'd give in their Names, and slight the rest. Between these two Extreame, several other Ways were propos'd; but at length this Order prevail'd, *That all Suits and Processes concerning Debts shou'd cease till this War was finish'd.* This expedient, tho in some measure useful, had not the intended Effect upon the unruly Minds of the Multitude, therefore the Senate was put upon another. Whereas by the Laws of *Poplicola*, the Consular Authority was much restrain'd and lessen'd by the Appeal to the People, so that no Man cou'd be oblig'd to go into the War against his Will; therefore they found it necessary at this time, *as well as upon the account of the Wars abroad, as the Troubles at home,* to create a particular Magistrate, from whom shou'd lye no Appeal, and who for a set Time shou'd be the sole Governor. This Supream Officer was call'd *Dictator*; *Largius Flavius* was the first that was created by the Senate; and this was the first Intermission of the Consular Power, about ten years after their first Creation, and afterwards prov'd the Ruin of the Popular State, and the bringing in of *Monarchy* a second time.

C H A P. II.

From the Creation of the first Dictator, to the great Retrenchment of the Consular Power by the Tribunes of the People.

Containing the Space of 5 Years.

Dic. i.
U. C.
255.

I. **N**OW was the Consular Power for a while laid aside, and another Officer made, who had more Power than both; so nam'd a *Dictando*, from dictating or commanding what was to be done. He was also call'd *Magister Populi*, and *Praetor Maximus*, and was always created in the Night-time by the Senate's Order, and Nomination of the Consuls without the People; and was generally made, either upon some urgent Occasions of War and Sedition, or in the times of Plagues and Famines, or for the Celebration of some particular Games, or whenever else there was need of a sudden and extraordinary Command; and this was oftentimes a Means of preserving the Roman Commonwealth. His Authority was absolute, he had Power of Peace and War, to levy Forces, to lead 'em out, to Disband 'em, and to act all things according to his Pleasure, without referring them to the Senate; and upon his Creation, all other Magistrates, except the Tribunes of the People, laid down their Offices, and the whole Government was left in his Hands. He had 24 Bundles of Rods carri'd before him, with as many Axes, and he punish'd as he pleas'd without any Appeal; hence this Office came to be so terrible, that the Edict of a Dictator was observ'd as the Command of a Diety. But then this extraordinary Power was limited both by Time and Place; for the Office was never

never to continue above six Months; nor was the *Dictator* allow'd to march out of *Italy*, nor ever on Horseback without leave, to shew that the *Roman* Strength lay in the Infantry. The *Dictator* upon his Creation, always made choice of another Officer, one that had either been *Consul* or *Praetor*, to assist him; this Officer was call'd *Magister Equitum*, who had chief Command over the Horse-men, as the *Dictator* had over the *Roman* People. In the *Dictator's* Absence, this *Master of the Horse* executed his Place in the Army; if present, he Commanded the Horse, yet so as to be obedient to the *Dictator's* Orders, and never to fight either contrary to, or without his Commands.

*Magister
Equitum.*

Largius Flavius, one of the *Consuls* for this year, being as was said before made *Dictator*, chose *Sp. Cassius* for his *Master of the Horse*, who had been *Consul* in the Year 252, and immediately appear'd in Publick with his 24 *Axes* and *Rods* before him; which soon chang'd the Face of Affairs in the City. Having with these and other *Ensigns* of Power terrify'd and stopped the Seditious Murmurs of the Multitude, he began the *Census*, after the Pattern of *Servius Tullius* the sixth King, according to the *Tribes*, taking the Names and Ages of such as were cess'd, and of Children. In a short time, the Fear of losing Freedom and Estates, so far prevail'd, that 150700 of full Age gave in their Names, which he distributed into four Parts, taking one for himself, ordering a second for his *Master of the Horse*, and the two remaining to two persons Commissioned on purpose, one of which was to continue in the City for the Defence of it. Things thus settled, he sent some private Ministers, who dealt under-hand with several *Latin* Cities, and procur'd 'em to suspend the War, and make a Truce for one year, notwithstanding the great Oppositions by *Tarquin* and *Manlius*, for whose sakes they undertook the Quarrel. Upon this, *Largius* return'd home with his Army, and before his six Months were out,

out, he laid down his Office, and the Consular Power took place again, no Citizen being punish'd either by Death or Banishment, or cruelly us'd in all that time; and this Carriage was imitated by his Successors for many Ages; and notwithstanding the Vastness of this Authority, it was very rarely abus'd; nor was the Commonwealth any ways prejudic'd by it, till *Sylla's* time.

When the Truce between the *Romans* and *Latins* was at an end, both Parties prepar'd to take the Field, the former chearfully, and the latter unwillingly. The *Latins* were so strong, that the *Romans* thought it convenient to create a Dictator, and accordingly *Virginius* the Senior Consul nominated *Posthumius* his Colleague, who chose *Ebutius Helva* for his Master of the Horse; and halstning his Levies, divided his Troops into four Parts, keeping one to himself, assigning the second to *Virginius*, the third to *Ebutius*, and the fourth to *Sempronius*, who was to defend the City. Upon Intelligence that the *Latins* had taken the Field, *Posthumius* advanc'd withall speed to the Lake *Regillus*, 14 Miles East of *Rome* by *Tusculum*, where he fortify'd himself against the Enemy, who as yet were not all united, but expected Aid from the *Volscei*. The *Romans* divided themselves into three Parts, and were so posted as to cut off all Provisions from the *Latin* Camp, designing to starve 'em; but the News of the March of the *Volscei* alter'd their Measures, making 'em resolve to engage. The *Roman* Army consisted of 24000 Foot, and 1000 Horse; and the Enemy of 40000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, *Tarquin's* Son *Titus* Commanding the main Body, his Brother *Sextus* the left Wing, and *Mamilius* the Right: *Posthumius* stood against *Titus*, *Ebutius* against *Sextus*, and *Virginius* against *Mamilius*, and so began a bloody Battel. *Florus* says that *Posthumius* cast one of the Ensigns among the Enemy, that his Men might be the more eager to fall upon 'em and recover it; and that *Elutius* command-

commanded the Bridles to be taken off the Horses, that they might Charge with the greater Violence and Fury. The Victory at last fell on the *Romans* side; and the Battel was fought with so much Bravery and Courage, that it was reported that the Gods themselves were present, particularly *Castor* and *Pollux* mounted on milk white Steeds. The *Latins* lost *Mamilius* and *Sextus*, and were so broken, that scarce a Quarter of 'em escap'd; and from the place of this Victory, *Posthumius* obtain'd the Sirname of *Rhegillensis*; many others likewise gaining great Honour, particularly *Caius Marcius*, afterwards call'd *Coriolanus*.

After the Battel was over, the *Volsci* arriv'd at the Camp, whereof one Party was for falling upon the *Romans* now weary; but another Party, willing to ingratiate themselves with the Conquerors, prevail'd to send to the Dictator to let him know, That they came to his Assistance. But *Posthumius* convinc'd 'em of their Falshood by their own Letters which he had intercepted, and giving leave to the Messenger to return, whom the multitude wou'd have pull'd in pieces, resolv'd to fall on 'em the next Day; but in the Night they abandon'd their Camp and fled. The *Latins*, now in a very bad Condition, sent in the humblest manner imaginable to beg Peace of the *Romans*; and their Ambassadors with so many Tears and submissive Intreaties, laying all the Blame on the Nobility, that the Motion of *Largius* prevail'd in their behalf for the former League to be renew'd. Thus ended all the Wars made upon the *Tarquins* account, which had been carri'd on for 13 years. As for *Tarquin* himself, the only Person left of all his Family, now abandon'd by the *Latines*, *Heturians*, *Sabines*, with the rest of the Neighbouring Places, who all refus'd to harbour him, he went into *Campania* to *Aristodemus* Prince of *Cuma*, where he shortly after dy'd, being about 90 years of Age, and the last King that *Rome* ever saw.

II. Upon

U. C.
258.

II. Upon the finishing of this War, *Posthumus* laid down his Office, and *Appius Claudius* the *Sabine*, and *Servilius Priscus* were made Consuls for the year following; and now the Courts of Justice were again open'd, and Processes against Debtors reviv'd. This caus'd great Disturbances among the common People, the *Plebeians* alledging their Inability of paying their Debts upon the account of their Losses by the Enemies Incurfions, and their want of Tillage; which Plea their Creditors made use of too, shewing that these Losses were such as made the remitting of their Debts impossible; which occasion'd many Tumults and Quarrels. The Consuls endeavour'd to divert these threatening Mischiefs, by making War against the *Volsci*, who had lately assisted the *Latins*; but none of the *Plebeians* wou'd Lift themselves, making grievous Complaints against the intollerable Severity of their Creditors, and *That they had ventur'd their Lives to preserve the Liberty of the State abroad, and in requital were made Slaves by their Country-men at home.* Now *Servilius* was willing to comply in some measure with the Poor, but *Appius* very hotly oppos'd it as the most dangerous Remedy in the World; and the Disagreement of the Consuls added much to the common Calamity. However, the Senate at last was forc'd to have recourse to the Popularity of *Servilius*, who with fair Words and Promises perswaded the People into the Field; where when he had by his good Services deserv'd a Triumph, the Honour was deny'd him by the Insinuation of his Colleague *Appius*, who represented to the Senate, *That by bearing and complying with the Multitude, he had impair'd the Dignity of his Order.* The People now expecting the Performances of *Servilius's* Promises, were wholly disappointed by *Appius's* Contrivances, which doubled their Rage, and made 'em carry all things by open Force, rescuing their Companions out of the hands of the Sergeants, holding secret Cabals, denying
ever

ever to touch a Weapon till their Burdens were remov'd.

These Stirs put the Senate to a great stand; *Appius* still urg'd, *That nothing ought to be granted to the Rabble*; and the better to quell the Disturbances, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created, which most supposed would be himself: But the present Consuls made choice of *M. Valerius*, a popular Man, supposing that the Terror of the Office alone would do the Work, and that a Person of a mild and moderate Temper would best manage it. *Valerius* chose *Servilius* the late Consul for his *Master of the Horse*, and he minding the pleasure of the People more than his own Authority, told 'em, *That if they would freely follow him, not only what they justly requir'd concerning their Debts, but other Rewards should be granted 'em*; by which means he got ten Legions list'd. With these he march'd against the *Volsci*, *Aequi*, and *Sabines*, who were all up in Arms; and having reduc'd 'em, he divided some Lands he had taken from the *Volsci*, among the Soldiers. At his return he requested the Senate, that his and their Promises might be made good, but was check'd for his too great Compliance with the Multitude; and because he was an old Man, above Seventy, unfit as he said to contend, and unwilling to shew his utmost Authority, he immediately laid down his Office. This more inflam'd the common People, who now had their private Consultations, designing to separate themselves from the *Patritians*; which when the Senate perceiv'd, order was given to the Consuls not to disband the Army, pretending that the *Sabines* and *Aequi* had Designs against Rome. Now the Soldiers being strictly bound by their Oath, call'd *Sacramentum*, at their first Listing, could not forsake their Standards; but the Consuls having their Camps nigh each other, by the Advice of one *Sicinius Bellulus*, they all remov'd to one of them; and then taking away the Ensigns and Standards

Dic. iii.
U. C.
259.

dards from the Consuls, they retir'd to a Mountain afterwards call'd *Mons Sacer*, three Miles North of Rome by the River *Aniene*, now call'd *Taverone*.

Upon this News, the whole City was in a strange Consternation and Tumult; insomuch that the *Patricians* feared least Civil Wars shou'd insue, for the *Plebeians* growing extream high, many of 'em left the Town and flock'd to the Army, tho' the other hinder'd it as much as possible. The Fathers had great Contests among themselves, some pleading for the Multitude, others urging nothing but right down Force; till the former sort prevail'd to send a Message to the Armies, desiring 'em *To return home, and declare their Demands*; withal promising 'em, *To forget their Crimes, and to reward their good Services*. But this Message was receiv'd with disdainful Words, and violent Complaints, intermix'd with threatening Language; which the more sensibly afflicted the Fathers, as not knowing which way to procure a Reconciliation, since they cou'd no longer keep the People in the City from going over to the Army. Now was the time for Electing of new Consuls at hand, but the Stirs were so great, that no *Candidates* (so call'd, because they su'd for the Place in *white Garments*) wou'd stand for the Office, nor any accept of it; till at last the Consuls by their sole Authority appointed *Posthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Cassinus*, who had been Consuls before, and were equally in favour with the Nobility and Commons.

The Consuls immediately call'd the Senate, and consulted 'em about the Return of the Commons. *Agrippa Menenius*, a very discreet Person, and a great Orator in those days, urg'd the great Necessity of a *Composure*, and a *Compliance with the People*, since the *Roman Dominions* cou'd neither be encreas'd, nor yet preserv'd without the *Inferior sort*. *Valerius* the last Dictator seconded him, and upbraided the Senate *For not believing him when he foretold these Distempers*; that now they

ought

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U. C.
260.

ought to heal the Wound before it was gone too far ; that there were several Reasons the Roman People had to separate themselves from the better sort, all which had great Appearances of Justice. But Appius, according to his usual Manner, violently declaim'd against the Insolence of the Mob, and the Imprudence of the Senate in any sort of Compliances ; that if they granted these Things when Enemies, which they refus'd when Friends, they wou'd not rest here, but require a Communication of Honours, and what not ? So that at last the whole Power of the State wou'd come into the hands of the Rabble. This Speech so pleas'd and transported some of the younger sort of his Party, that nothing cou'd be determin'd by reason of the heats on both Sides. This put the Consuls upon dismissing the Senate for that time, admonishing the younger sort, to carry themselves more modestly for the future, or else they wou'd prefer a Law to limit a certain Age for Senators ; exhorting likewise the graver sort to Concord, letting them know, That they had a Way to end the Controversie, by referring the Matter to the People, who had a Right to judge of it, as a Case of Peace and War. Upon which, the Senate broke up.

At the next Meeting, the Senate almost unanimously agreed to treat with the People, tho Appius oppos'd it what he cou'd ; and Menenius with nine others were Commission'd with full Power to compose the Differences. At their first arrival at the Camp, their Proposals cou'd not be heard through the Instigations of two cunning and turbulent Fellows, Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who out of Conceit had affected the Name of Brutus too ; but by degrees they were so far appeas'd as to listen to the Commissioners. Menenius finding the Rage and Violence of the People too great to hearken much to Rhetorick, bethought himself of a more effectual Way, and such as was more likely to make Impression ; therefore laying aside his former way of Speeches and Oratory, after a short Promise or two of discharging all disabled Debtors, he in a plain

and familiar Way began thus: *Once upon a time, the Members and Parts of Man's Body fell out with the Belly, alledging, that they were all forc'd to toil and moil to provide Necessaries for the Belly, whilst that lived idle and lazy in the Midst of the Body, and did nothing but enjoy its Pleasures. Whereupon they resolv'd that the Hands shou'd not lift the Meat to the Mouth, nor the Mouth receive, nor yet the Teeth chew it; by which Means while they endeavour'd to famish the Belly, they themselves and the whole Body were all Starv'd for want of the Nourishment they receiv'd from it. This Story, and and his home Application of it had so great an Effect upon the People, that they unanimously cry'd out, He shou'd lead 'em home without Delay.*

The Multitude were so well satisfi'd, that they were just upon departing with no other Security than the bare Words of the Commissioners; but *Junius Brutus* before-mention'd, kept 'em from that, alledging, *That tho they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind Offers of the Senate, yet some Persons of revengeful Tempers might notwithstanding reserve their Anger for a more convenient Opportunity; and that therefore it was necessary for the Security of the Commons, to have certain Officers created Yearly out of their own Body, whose Power shou'd be to give Relief to such Plebeians as were injured, and suffer none to be defrauded of their Rights.* This was greatly approv'd of by the Multitude, and closely insisted on and urg'd to *Menenius* and his Fellow Commissioners; who thought not fit to yield to a Matter of that great Consequence without leave from the Senate, but demanded Time to know their Pleasures. Upon the Debate of this Matter in the Senate House, *Valerius* thought the Favour was to be granted to the Commons, but *Appius* most violently oppos'd it, invoking the Gods, and truly foretelling, *What vast Troubles and Calamities the Granting it, wou'd certainly bring upon the Commonwealth; yet the Majority, wear'd out with the present Misfortunes, and desiring Peace, gave it in*
Favour

Favour of the People, and Commissioners were immediately dispatch'd to 'em with the Resolution of the House. The Commons by the Advice of *Menenius*, first sent to have a Religious Confirmation of this Privilege from the Senate, and afterwards in the Assembly of the *Curia*, or *Curiata Comitia*, elected *J. Brutus* and *Sicinius Bellulus*, to whom they afterwards joyn'd *C. and P. Licinius*, and *Isilius Ruga*, which made five in all.

These Officers were call'd *Tribunes of the People*, either because they were elected by the *Tribes*, or because they were first made out of the *Tribunes* or *Colonels* of the Soldiers. They were first five in Number, 37 Years after, five more were added, and this Number of ten so continu'd; and they were always elected by the *Plebeians*, and ever out of their Body, except once, and most commonly of the lower sort, till by a Law made afterwards, they were ordered to be created out of such of the *Plebeians* as were Senators. They had the Power of *Interposing*, and the Design of that Power was to relieve the Oppressed, and to be a Shield to keep off all Evil and Mischief. They null'd all such Decrees and Commands of the Senate and Consuls as they reckon'd unjust, and of all other Magistrates, except the *Dictators*; and to shew their Readiness to protect the meanest, their Doors stood open Night and Day to their Complaints. They at first had their Seats plac'd before the Door of the Senate House, tho afterwards they enter'd in, where examining the Decrees of the Fathers, they either interpos'd by the word *Veto* or *Vetamus* solemnly pronounc'd, or else Sign'd 'em with the Letter *T*, which made 'em pass. They procur'd themselves to be accounted *Sacrosancti*, so as by a Law made, they were free from all sort of Compulsion, and were inviolable, either by Word or Deed, and severe Penalties laid on such as broke it; and lest the People shou'd afterwards repeal this Law, they made all the Citizens take the most solemn Oath

imaginable to preserve it intire and untouch'd. As for the *Ensigns* of their Office, they had no *Toga Pretexa*, *Lictors* or *Curule Chair*, but only a sort of a Beadle, call'd *Viator*, went before 'em. The Want of these Attendants, their not entring at the beginning of the Year, and their not laying down their Office upon the Creation of a *Dictator*, made some hold 'em to be no *Magistrates*, but rather a Curb and Restraint to all others. Notwithstanding the Disproportionate Greatness of these *Tribunes* Power, it was considerably limited by these two Things, which they scarcely perceiv'd at the Beginning: The First was their Confinement to the City Walls, out of which they had nothing to do; neither was it lawful for 'em to be absent from the City a Day, *Dion* says not an Hour: The Second was their Number, for any one of the ten had a Negative Vote, and this was the only effectual Means to moderate the Power which they afterwards assum'd; the *Patritians* generally prevailing with one of the ten to be of their Side, which was sufficient to hinder the Designs of all the Rest.

This was the first great Retrenchment of the *Consular Power*, beside what *Poplicola* did: and now the Commonwealth was turn'd from an *Aristocracy* to a *Democracy*, or at least to a Mixture of both. The Awe which this *Sacrosanct* Magistracy had upon most People, gave 'em Occasion afterwards to enlarge their Power and Authority, and to become most extravagantly Imperious, assembling and dismissing the Senate, imprisoning the Consuls, and the like, as shall be more particularly shewn afterwards: So that they often prov'd the Cause of many dangerous Seditions and Tumults, and were the greatest Disturbers of the Peace of the Commonwealth, insomuch that they were by some Authors call'd *Pestes Reipublicæ*. This remarkable Innovation on the Government hapned in the 260th Year of the City, 46 after the Ruin of the *Babylonian*, and the Beginning of the *Persian* Empire, and in the third Year of the 71st Olympiad.

C H A P. III.

From the Creation of the Tribunes of the People, to the Second Intermiſſion of the Conſular Power, by the Decemviri.

Containing the Space of 42 Years.

THE Commons having got a Confirmation of the Office of *Tribunes* from the Senate, obtain'd further, that they might yearly chuſe two out of their own Body, to aſſiſt theſe Officers. Theſe were firſt call'd *Ministers and Aſſiſtants of the Tribunes*, but afterwards *Ediles*, ab *Edibus curandis*, becauſe one part of their Office was to take care of the Repairing of the Publick Buildings, Aqueducts, and Common-Sewers, eſpecially the Temple of *Ceres*, where all the *Plebiscita* or Ordinances of the Commons were kept, of which they had an Oversight. Beſides the care of the Publick Buildings, they were by the Permiſſion of the *Tribunes* to determine ſome particular Controverſies; to look after ſuch as held more Land than the Laws allow'd 'em; to accuſe ſuch Matrons as liv'd Scandalouſly; to puniſh exceſſive Uſurers, and Extortioners; to reſtrain Tipling and Gaming Houſes; to Fine Perſons for lewd and uncivil Words or Actions; to Correct falſe Weights and Meaſures; to provide Bread Corn and Oyl in the time of Famine, and to ſee that the ſame was not hoarded up, nor the Markets foreſtall'd; as alſo to take care that neceſſary Proviſions were ſent to the Armies, and the like. About 127 Years after, were added two more out of the *Patritians*, call'd *Ediles Curiules*, which ſhall be ſpoken of in its proper Place.

U. C.
260.

Ediles.

After the Commons had obtain'd these Officers, and what else they desir'd, they readily Lifted themselves to go against the *Volsci*, under *Posthumius* the Consul. He soon took *Longula* and *Polustia* from 'em, then invested *Corioli*, a strong City, and the Metropolis of the Nation; but the *Antiates* marching to its Relief, he left Part of his Army under *T. Lartius*, and with the other advanc'd to give the Enemy Battel. *Lartius* in the mean time attempting to Storm the Town, the Besieged receiv'd him with so much Warmth, that the *Romans* were driven back to their Trenches in great Disorder; but *Caius Marcius*, a valiant *Patriot* formerly mention'd, with a small Party, most courageously stood the Enemies Shock, and with a wonderful Bravery forc'd 'em back into the Town, whom he followed so close at their Heels, that he went in with 'em: By which the Besieged were so terrifi'd, that not considering their own Numbers, they fled to the contrary Part of the City, suffering him to let the rest of the Army into the Town, which they soon possessed themselves of. Which done, *Marcius* wou'd not permit the Soldiers to stay for Plunder, but hastned 'em to joyn the Consul with all Speed; and whilst the Armies were approaching, desir'd leave of *Posthumius* to engage in the main Body with his Party, where the chief Strength of the Enemy lay; and having obtained that Post, he behav'd himself with that admirable Courage and Conduct, that the Enemy were soon overthrow'n. The Consul gave him extraordinary Commendations, owning him to be the chief Cause of the Victory, and offer'd him a large Share of the Booty before the Division among the Soldiers. But he modestly refus'd all but one single Horse, which gain'd him greater Honour among the Soldiers, and caus'd *Posthumius* to bestow the Surname of *Coriolanus* upon him, for his incomparable Valour shewn at *Corioli*. The *Volsci* by this Overthrow were forc'd to Submissiion, and made their Peace. This same Year was

was the League of Confederacy renew'd with the *Latins*, and likewise a third *Feria* or Holy-day appointed by the Senate for the Union of the Nobility and Commons, the first being for the Conquest of *Hetruria* in the fifth Kings Reign, and the second for the Banishment of *Tarquin*. This Year also dy'd *Menenius*, whom the People out of Gratitude bury'd at the publick Charge, because he dy'd Poor, and Money was bestow'd on his Children. Now likewise was the *Census* perform'd, and 110000 Heads were cessed.

II. The Year following, there was a great Famine in the City, occasion'd chiefly by the Want of Tillage during the late Separation. This put the Senate upon sending to *Sicily*, and several Parts of *Italy* to buy Corn; but notwithstanding this Care, the Common sort, now extreemly pinch'd with Want, grew very turbulent, laying all the Blame upon the *Patritians*. This Advantage the *Volsi* endeavoured to improve, but were diverted by a grievous Plague, which so rag'd among 'em, that *Velitra* a Noble City of that Country being exhausted, they begg'd of the *Romans* to send a Colony thither. Which occasion'd many of the *Romans*, tho' unwillingly, to be sent thither, and also to *Norba* a *Latin* Town. Upon which the rest were so inrag'd, imagining it a Design to destroy 'em, that they call'd the *Tribunes* into the *Comitium*, where they and the Consuls had a violent Contest; which occasion'd a Law to be made, *That no Man shou'd dare to interrupt the Tribunes, when they spoke to the People*. This still bred greater Animosities between the Senate and People; but the Consuls to divert 'em, and to ease their Wants, offer'd to lead 'em into the Enemies Country; but few or none wou'd Lift themselves; so that *Marcus Coriolanus* with some *Patritians*, and a few of their *Clients*, made Incurfions, and return'd home laden with Booty; the Knowledge of which put the Poorer sort into a fresh Murmuring against the *Tribunes*, who had

U. C.
261.

dissuaded them from the Expedition. So that now the City was almost all in a Flame and Confusion, but more from the Infirmary of the Government, than the Disposition of the People.

These Tumults and Disturbances were considerably appeas'd by the happy Arrival of great Quantities of Corn from *Sicily*, which was bought at a cheap Rate, and half given in by *Gelon* of *Sicily*. Now the *Patritians* considering at what Rates to dispose of the Corn, *Coriolanus*, incens'd at the Behaviour of the Commons, counsell'd 'em to keep it up at a high Rate, and to shew no Favour, nor give any Incouragement to the Insolence of the Tribunes and the Rabble; but to take away the Tribune-ship, as the only Way to remedy the Disorders of the State. Upon Notice of this, the Multitude in a mad Fury wou'd have fell upon the Senate, but were stopp'd by the Tribunes, who laid all the Blame upon *Coriolanus*, and sent the *Adiles* to apprehend him, and bring him before the People. The *Adiles* going to execute their Office, were repulsed and beaten by the young *Patritians*, who had got about *Coriolanus*. This put all in a greater Flame than ever, and the whole City got together, where the Tribunes Decreed, that *Coriolanus* shou'd immediately be cast down headlong from the *Tarpeian Rock*. The *Adiles* strait seiz'd on him, and the *Patritians* again rescu'd him, and there was nothing but Tumults and Uproars in all Places: But the Senate by selling of Corn at low Rates, and by good Words and Entreaties, so far appeas'd 'em, that the Tribunes Null'd their former Decree, and set him a Day to Answer for himself before the People. The Consuls finding their Authority was like to be much weakned, after long Debates and much Difficulty, procur'd the Tribunes to sue out this Decree from the Senate, which was Granted; and the third Market Day after was appointed for his Tryal. *Coriolanus* demanded of the Tribunes what they wou'd lay to his Charge; who after some Consultation told him,

That he

They

They intended to accuse him of Aiming at Sovereignty and Tyranny; whereupon he chearfully put himself upon Tryal, not refusing the severest Punishment if they cou'd prove that against him.

When the appointed Day was come, all Persons were fill'd with great Expectations, and a vast Concourse of Country People early in the Morning had plac'd themselves in the *Forum*, and the *Tribunes* assembled the People, separating the *Tribes* from one another with Cords, and ordering them to give their Vores according to their *Tribes*, and not according to their *Centuries*; which Innovation the *Patritians* much complain'd of, but after some Debate, admitted it. *Minucius*, the Consul, began first, *Declaring the great Worth of the Person to be try'd, signifying that the Senate became Petitioners in his Behalf, and desiring the Tribunes that they wou'd keep close to their first Impeachment, namely, his aiming at Sovereignty, which they promis'd to do.* *Sicinius*, one of the *Tribunes*, began to rip up all he cou'd imagine wou'd make for his Purpose, putting the worst Construction upon all his Actions; but when *Coriolanus* came to speak, his Affairs soon seem'd to be in a favourable Condition; for his graceful relating all his great Services to the State, his shewing his Scars receiv'd all over his Body, and the Crys and Lamentations of such as he had sav'd in the Wars, made such a powerful Impression upon the People, that they generally cry'd out, *He was to be releas'd.* But *Decius*, another of the *Tribunes*, a cunning and spiteful Fellow, stood up, alledging, *That he wou'd waive all Words, and insist on his Actions, which wou'd make good the Charge of Tyranny: There was a certain Law that all Booty and Plunder got in War shou'd be appropriated to the Publick Use, and be given into the Hand of the Quæstor untouch'd by the General. Now, whereas that Law had ever been look'd upon as inviolable, Coriolanus had wilfully broke it: For in the late Incursion into the Territories of Antium, where he had got great Plenty of Slaves, Cattel, and Provisions, he neither deliver'd these things to the*
Quæstor,

Quæstor, nor paid any Money into the Treasury, but divided the Booty among his Friends, which was a plain Argument that he design'd to Enslave his Country; it being the constant Practice of all that affect Tyranny, this way to procure themselves Instruments for their Purpose. Coriolanus was strangely surpriz'd, at so unexpected a Charge; and the Consuls and Patritians being likewise utterly to seek for an Answer, the Tribunes immediately nam'd perpetual Banishment, and gather'd the Votes of the Tribes, where only nine of the one and twenty clear'd him, so he stood condemn'd by the Majority. This was the first Sentence pass'd by the People upon any Patritian, and henceforth the Tribunes usually set a Day to whomsoever they pleas'd; whereby the Power of the Commons was very much enlarg'd, and the Interest of the Patritians more and more diminish'd.

Coriolanus, accompani'd home with the Sighs and Tears of a great many, took his leave of his Mother, Wife, and Children, who all made lamentable Complaints; but he, like a true Roman, with small Appearance of Concern, bad 'em bear all chearfully, and departed the City without any thing to bear his Charges, attended only by a few Clients. Thus he went to Antium, and appli'd himself to Tullus Attius, a great Man among the Volsci, of a Magnanimous Spirit, and a Violent Enemy of the Romans; where throwing himself at his Feet, he begg'd of him to Revenge his Countries Losses by his Death, or his own Wrongs by Rome's Destruction, which by her unnatural Carriage towards him, had now forfeited all that Duty and Service she might have justly expected at his Hands. Tullus most readily espous'd his Quarrel, and by his Advice sent many of the Volsci to Rome upon pretence of seeing some solemn Games at that time celebrated, but with Design to make a Breach between the two Nations. These Volsci procur'd a Person to go to the Consuls, and accuse the Strangers of having some Design against the City, which immediately

mediately occasion'd an Order from the Consuls, that all Strangers shou'd depart by Sun-set. This Order *Tullus* represented to his Country-men as a Breach of the Peace, and so aggravated the Matter, that he procur'd 'em to send to *Rome*, to demand all the Towns and Territories which the *Romans* had taken from 'em. The Senate receiv'd this Message with great Scorn, telling them, *That if the Volsci were the first that took up Arms, the Romans wou'd be the last that shou'd lay 'em down.* Upon which Answer, the *Volsci* made all necessary Preparations for a War.

Coriolanus, together with *Tullus*, was made General of the *Volsci*, and accordingly invaded the *Roman* Territories, ravaging and laying Wast all such Lands as did belong to the *Plebeians*, but not suffering those of the Nobility to be injur'd in the least. This rais'd new Commotions between the Nobility and Commons; the former upbraiding the latter with Ingratitude to so considerable and deserving a Person; and the latter charging the other with Treachery to their Country, and saying it was by their Procurement that he invaded their Dominions. *Coriolanus* returning with his Men richly laden with Booty, was sent out soon after with the sole Command of half the Forces, and taking *Circaum*, a *Roman* Colony, he then fell upon the *Latins*, who immediately sent to *Rome* for Succour; but the Commons Averseness to the Wars, and the approaching End of the present Consul's Office, render'd their Message of no Effect. But *Coriolanus* went still on with great Success, taking *Tolerium*, *Lavici*, *Pes*, and *Bola*, all by Storm, plundering them, and making the Inhabitants Prisoners of War. Such as yielded he treated mildly, others he put to the Sword; and the *Volsci* now so admir'd his extraordinary Courage and Conduct, that they left their Towns bare, flocking in vast Numbers to him, and owning him for their sole Commander. At *Rome* there was nothing but Confusion and Despair, and all the Peoples

U. C.
265.

ples Satisfaction was by venting their Spleen against one another; but soon after, when News was brought that *Lavinium* was invested, the Commons all cried out, *That Coriolanus was to be restor'd, and his Banishment repeal'd.* The Senate utterly refus'd to assent to this, either out of Desire to oppose the People in all Things, or out of Scorn to have his Restoration ascrib'd to the Commons, or else out of a just Indignation against *Coriolanus*, who now was become an open Enemy to all his Country in general.

Coriolanus understanding the Dissentions of the City, immediately rose up from before *Lavinium*, and advancing towards *Rome*, Encamped at *Clulius's Ditch*, five Miles from the City. This struck the Romans with such a Terror, that now both Senate and People unanimously agreed to send Ambassadors to him with Proposals of Restoration. The Ambassadors behav'd themselves with all possible Respect; notwithstanding which, and their being *Patricians*, and his Choicest Friends, he receiv'd 'em with all the Sternness and Severity of a most Injur'd Person; and in a Council of War made Answer, *That if they hop'd for Peace, they must immediately restore all the Towns and Territories taken from the Volsci; and make 'em Free of the City as the Latins were; and for that he wou'd give 'em thirty Days to consider of it.* And this he spoke as he was General of the Volsci, and not as he was a Roman, ungratefully us'd, and barbarously treated by his own Country-men. This Space of Time he employ'd in subduing Seven Great and Strong Towns; and at the end of it, another Ambassy was dispatch'd to him, declaring, *That they were still Romans, and that neither Constraint nor Fear shou'd influence their Souls to stoop to any Thing that is Base, but desir'd him to draw off his Troops, and consult in Common.* And that if he thought the Volsci were to be gratifi'd, they wou'd yield to him, provided they wou'd lay down their Arms. *Coriolanus*, a little more moderate, repli'd, *That now he behav'd him-*

self

self not as General of the Volsci, but as a Roman Citizen, and desir'd that having a Respect to Interest and Moderation, they wou'd return in three Days with a Grant of his former Demands, or else he must proceed in his Enterprize. The Senate being reduc'd to this Extremity, their Courages began to fail 'em, and as their last Remedy, order'd all the Pontifices, Priests, Governors of Religious Houses, and Augurs, all in their proper Ornaments and Habits, to go in Solemn Procession, and humbly to beg for an Accommodation. But this Pompous Train, with all their earnest Prayers and Suplications did not in the least move Coriolanus; he still insisting, That they shou'd either accept of his Proposals, or else they must expect the utmost Severity of War and Bloodshed.

Upon the Return of the Priests, the whole City was full of Tumults, Trembling, and Amazement, the Men running in Disorder to the Walls, and the Women in Confusion to the Temples, especially to that of *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. Among which, was *Valeria*, *Poplicola's* Sister, who put 'em in mind of going to *Veturia*, *Coriolanus's* Mother, with his Wife *Volumnia*, to get them to intercede for their Country. *Veturia* was very ready to undertake so pious a Work, tho with little Hopes of succeeding; and thereupon set forward, accompani'd with many of these Ladies, her Daughter-in-Law, and her two Grand-Children. *Coriolanus* discovering this Mournful Company, fully resolv'd to give 'em a Denial; but perceiving his Mother among 'em, immediately descended from his Tribunal, and went to meet her; courteously receiving her with his Wife and Childen, and carefully listning to her Petition, which she urg'd with all the Skill and Rhetorick she cou'd, from the Consideration of the impending Ruin of his Country, and of the Infamy which he wou'd incur if *Victorious*, and the Dishonour he wou'd receive if he were *Successless* in his Attempts. But this not prevailing, she put him in mind, *How much the Sacred Ties of Nature and Religion, together with her most tender Education*

Education of him in her Widowhood, had ingag'd him to Obedience, or at least to a Compliance: Declaring likewise, That he shou'd not stir one Foot towards the Treading down his Country, without first Trampling upon the dead Body of her that brought him into the World. And in Conclusion, with his Wife and Children, cast her self at his Feet, Embracing and Kissing 'em; which with the lamentable Sighs and Tears of the fair Train, so far mov'd his great Spirit, that lifting 'em up, and embracing 'em, he cri'd, O Mother, you have gain'd the Victory, most fortunate for my Country, but most destructive to my Self; and accordingly drew off the Volsci into their own Country. Tullus, who now envy'd his Glory, represented this Act to the Volsci as the highest Piece of Treason against 'em, and procur'd him to be cut in Pieces, scarce allowing him to speak for himself. This was against the Consent of the greatest Part of the Volsci, who buri'd him Honourably, adorning his Tomb with Arms and Trophies as a Great General, and a Famous Warrior; and the Roman Women themselves were permitted to mourn for him ten Months, all acknowledging him to be the most Valiant and most Couragious Man in this Age.

U. C.
266.

III. Great and many Rejoycings were made at Rome for Coriolanus's Retreat, and the Senate decreed to grant the Women what Honours they wou'd demand; but they only desir'd to have a Chappel dedicated to *Woman's Fortune*, Built in the same Place where they had deliver'd their Country, which was done at the Publick Charge. The Consuls soon after took the Field with a considerable Army, but had no Occasion to use it, for the Volsci and *Aequi* joyning Forces, fell out about a General, and almost ruin'd each other. The Year following the New Consuls, *Aquilus* and *Sicinius*, overthrew one the *Hernici*, and the other the Volsci, among whom fell *Tullus* their General. The next Year, the Consuls, *Virginus* and *Cassius*

Cassius took the Field, the *Aequi* falling to the former, as the *Volsci* and *Hernici* did to the latter: But the *Volsci* immediately begg'd Peace, having lost their best Men in the last Battel; as soon after did the *Hernici*, who now refus'd any longer to contend with the *Romans* for Superiority. *Cassius* having receiv'd Money and Provisions from 'em as Persons who own'd themselves Conquer'd, made a Truce, but referr'd the Articles to the Senate. But the Fathers, after resolving to accept of their Alliance, left the Conditions of the League to *Cassius's* Discretion; who now affecting Sovereignty, and desiring Popularity, granted 'em equal Priviledges with the *Latins*, which together with his Triumph lately obtain'd without doing any thing for it, procur'd him much Envy and ill Will.

Cassius now grown Insolent by his three Consulships, *U. C.* and his two Triumphs, was resolv'd to push on his 268. Design of Sovereignty; and the more to gain the Favour of the People, propos'd the Division of some late conquer'd Lands among the Meaner Sort, together with such Publick Grounds, which through the Neglect of the Magistrates had been seiz'd on by the Rich. Then he recounted to the People his many Services to the State under his three Consulships, insinuating, *That his great Care and wise Management in those Times, had shewn him no less than sole Governor; and that since he had already taken Charge of the Commonwealth, it was but just and reasonable he shou'd continue to do it.* This Speech, tho smelling too rank of Tyranny, wou'd have been far more serviceable to him, had he not brought in the *Latins* and the *Hernici* as Sharers in these Lands, which he did to gain their Favours, tho with the weakning his Interest with the Common People. This Proposal concerning the Lands, met with many Oppositions in the Senate, created Fears and Jealousies among some, and caus'd various Discourses among others: But the Commons Forwardness, and the Disturbances that were like to follow, caus'd the Senate
after

Lex Agraria.

after many Debates, to publish *their Resolution for dividing the Lands among the Commons, without excluding all new Allies and Associates, as having no Reason to expect a Share of what was gain'd before their Times.* This was the famous *Agrarian Law*, which afterwards occasion'd such Mischiefs and Disturbances; but at present the Promise of it appeas'd the People, and ruin'd *Cassius's* Designs: For the Year after his Consulship, the *Quæstors* set a day to him to answer to the Charge of Aiming at Tyranny, before the People; where he was accus'd of a Multitude of Crimes of that Nature; and notwithstanding his premeditated Orations, his many Services, and the Intercession of all his Friends and Clients in Mourning, he was condemn'd to be thrown down the *Tarpeian Rock*, and was strait executed accordingly.

Soon after his Death, the Commons press'd hard for the Execution of the *Agrarian Law*, which *Cassius* had set on foot; but the Senate being resolv'd to put it off, caus'd the Consuls to prepare for an Expedition. The *Plebeians* inrag'd at their Disappointment, and the Loss of a Person whom they expected to be so serviceable to 'em, refus'd to Lift themselves, the *Tribunes* always protecting 'em from Punishment; but the Name of a *Dictator*, and their suspecting *Appianus* to be the Man, soon frighted 'em into a Compliance; so *Cornelius*, one of the Consuls, wasted the Territories of the *Veientes*, as *Fabius* the other, did those of the *Æqui*. Not long after, the Commons refusing to Lift themselves, the Consuls found a way to sit in the *Campus Martius*, out of the City, where the *Tribunes* had no Authority; and there they severely punish'd and fin'd such as did not Appear, to the great Mortification of the Popular Faction. A third time, the Consuls got the better by getting over one of the *Tribunes* to their Side; a way they were often forc'd to make use of afterwards. In the mean time, they had several Wars abroad with the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, and soon

soon after the *Veientes*; there being many Ravages on both Sides, with some Battels, but of no great Note or Consequence. At home were greater Contentts and Quarrels between the *Consuls* and *Tribunes* concerning this *Agrarian* Law; the former always declining the Execution of it, and the latter as constantly urging it, but with no other Effect than the blowing up of Diffentions, and the encreasing of Factions. And this was the troublesome State of *Rome* for about five Years together, as may be seen at large in *Dionysius*.

IV. In the midst of these Troubles, when *Fabius* U. C.
and *Virginius* were *Consuls*, two Years after *Xerxes's* 274.
Expedition into *Greece*, the *Veientes* by the Assistance of other of the *Hetrurians*, march'd with a powerful Army against the *Romans*. *Virginius* oppos'd 'em with another, but was so overpower'd by 'em, that he had lost his Army, had not *Fabius* came from the *Aequi* with timely Succor, and brought him off. Upon the *Roman* Retreat, the *Veientes* made IncurSIONS almost to the Walls of *Rome*, to the great Injury and Dishonour of the City; and what added more to their Inconveniencies, was the Lowness of the Treasury, and the Discontents of the People about the *Agrarian* Law. This put the Senate to very hard Shifts, till at last the whole Family of the *Fabii*, a noble Stock, generously offer'd their Service to be a constant Guard to the Frontiers, without any Charge to the Publick, which was gratefully accepted by the Senate. They were in Number 306, which with their Clients and Friends, made up 4000, all commanded by *Marcus*, the last years Consul; and to them was afterwards sent another Company under *Fabius* the present Consul. These brave Adventurers fortifi'd themselves in a Castle, which they call'd *Cremera*, as standing upon a River of the same Name, nigh the Frontiers of the *Veientes*, from which they made great IncurSIONS, and extream-

ly annoy'd the Enemy. The following Year, the *Veientes*, *Volsci*, and *Aequi*, all agreeing upon an Invasion, great Preparations were made by the Senate; *Amelius* one Consul, led an Army against the *Veientes*, with whom was joined *Babius*, as *Pro-Consul*; *Servilius* the other Consul, led another against the *Volsci*; and *Furius* a third, against the *Aequi*. The latter soon finish'd his Work; *Servilius* was forc'd to draw out the War at length; but *Amelius* engag'd the *Veientes* and their Allies, and overthrew 'em; then falling upon their Camp, forc'd 'em to beg Peace; the Conditions of which being left to his Discretion by the Senate, he made a League with 'em upon Terms so little Advantagious to the *Romans*, that they gain'd him much ill Will, and lost him the Honour of a Triumph; which so enrag'd him, that he immediately disbanded his Troops, endeavouring still more to incense the Commons against the Senate.

The year following, when *Horatius* and *Menenius* were Consuls, eleven Cities of *Hetruria* declar'd against the *Veientes* for making Peace without their Consent, and forc'd 'em to break it. Their Pretence against *Rome* was, that the *Fabii* were not drawn off from *Cremera*, upon which they advanc'd towards 'em with a great Army; whereupon *Menenius* was order'd against *Hetruria*, and *Horatius* against the *Volsci*. The *Veientes* not daring to Attack this Valiant Body of the *Fabii* in their Fortrefs, drew 'em out by a Stratagem, causing several Herds of Cattle, and Flocks of Sheep to be driven to the neighbouring Places, and laying several great Parties in Ambuscade. The Design took, and the *Fabian* Adventurers were all cut off; tho at first by forming themselves into a Wedge, they gain'd the top of a Hill, and there tho wholly encompass'd, made an incredible Slaughter of the Enemy: *Livy* says, That none of this Family was left, but only one young Lad, from whom afterwards sprung *Fabius Maximus*; but

but *Dionysius* much questions this Tradition. The *Veientes*, now Masters of *Cremera*, advanc'd boldly towards the Roman Army, which lay encamp'd not far off, and might have reliev'd the *Fabii*: Then taking advantage of *Menenius's* Unskilfulness, they possess'd themselves of a Hill nigh his Camp, from whence they streightned him so, that he was forc'd to Fight upon very unequal Terms, and his Army was much worsted. The Romans quitted their Camp, and fled in such Disorder, that had the *Veientes* been mindful of any thing but Plunder, they might have destroy'd 'em all. The next day they enter'd the Roman Territories, and possess'd themselves of the Hill *Janiculus*, two Miles from Rome, to the great Damage and Disgrace of the City: But *Horatius*, the other Consul, returning from the *Volsci*, overthrew 'em twice, and much eas'd the People, but cou'd not yet dislodge the Enemy.

The year following, *Servilius* and *Virginus*, two experienc'd Warriors, were made Consuls, which gave great Hopes to the People, who were now extreamly streightned for want of Corn and Trade, which was the more felt by reason of the Populoufness of the City; for at the next Cense there appear'd to be 110000 Men of ripe Age, and three times as many Women, Children, Slaves, Merchants, and Artificers. The People were ready upon all Occasions to seize on the Stores of the Rich; and the Consuls endeavour'd to appease 'em by buying what Corn they cou'd, and causing such as had Corn to expose it to Sale, till their Levies and Troops were compleated. When they had rais'd a sufficient Number of Men, one Night they drew out their Troops from the City towards the Enemy, and passing the River before Day, unexpectedly fell upon 'em, entirely routed 'em, and clear'd the Hill, they retiring in great Disorder to their own Territories. This Campaign ended, *Menenius*, the last years Consul, was call'd to an Account, and severely sm'd for suffering the *Fabii*

to be cut off, whom the People so gratefully esteem'd, that they plac'd the Day of their Defeat among their *Nefasti*, or unlucky Days, whereon no Work of great Consequence was to be undertaken. The War was still carri'd on, and within two years after, the *Veientes* were so overpower'd, having been overthrow'n in Battle, together with their Confederates the *Sabines*, and now closely hem'd in, that they begg'd Peace of the *Romans*: And having purchas'd leave to send to the Senate, with a whole years Pay for the Consuls Army, and Money for two Months Provision, they obtain'd a Truce for forty Years. Thus ended the War with the *Veientes*, after seven years Contests on both Sides.

U C.
280.

V. The following year, *Æmilius* and *Vopiscus* being Consuls, the old Stirs about the *Agrarian* Law were reviv'd by *Genatius*, one of the *Tribunes*, who boldly set a Day to *Manlius* and *Furius*, the last years Consuls, to answer before the People, why they did not divide the Lands. This Quarrel had like to have been fatal to the City, had not *Genatius's* sudden Death prevented it; and then the Sedition might have been quite appeas'd, had the Consuls born their Success with Moderation: But, making new Levies, they offer'd to force one *Volero*, a turbulent Fellow, and formerly an Officer, to Lift himself for a Common Soldier, and for refusing, they order'd him to be stripp'd and scourg'd. But *Volero* fled to the *Tribunes*, who protected him, and violently exclaim'd against the Tyranny of the Consuls. This diverted the People from the Thoughts of Lands, and rais'd new Quarrels concerning Priviledges and Liberty. And the Year after, *Volero* getting to be one of the *Tribunes* himself, the more to retrench the Consular Power, propos'd a Law for holding the Assemblies of *Tribes* instead of that of the *Curia*, call'd *Comitia Curiata*; which was so contriv'd as to take in greater Numbers, and to give the Commons much

much more Priviledge and Power than formerly. This Proposal was much urg'd by the *Plebeians*, but so strongly oppos'd by the *Patritians*, that *Valero* cou'd not accomplish his Designs before his Time was out.

The next Year, *Valero* by his mighty Promises, procur'd himself to be made *Tribune* a second Time; and the Senate to balance him, got *Appius Claudius*, the Son of *Appius* now Absent, to be made Consul, tho against his Will, and with him *Quintius Capitolinus*, who hapn'd to be of a contrary Temper. *Appius* in a Publick Assembly oppos'd the *Common's* Designs so hotly and violently, and so sharply reprimanded them for their rude Actions and Seditious Practices, that the *Tribunes* saucily commanded him to depart the Assembly; and upon his Refusal, to be sent to Prison. This Piece of Boldness was so surprizing to the Fathers, that all were ready to rise up in Arms, and the *Lictors* were beaten back that went to lay Hands on him; he being defended by a Company of stout young Men, an unseemly Contest ensu'd, which beginning with Railings and Jostlings, proceeded to Blows and throwing of Stones. But *Quintius*, the other Consul, by his Intreaties, and throwing himself into the Middle, and by the help of the Graver Senators, hinder'd the Tumult from proceeding to any further Inconveniencies, which was ended shortly after by the Night. But all did not end here, for within a few Days after, the *Tribunes* and the People seiz'd on the *Capitol*, and there fortifi'd themselves against the *Patritians*. This might have been of the most dangerous Consequence, had not *Quintius* by his mild Intreaties and fair Promises perswaded the *Tribunes* to refer this Law to the Senate's Discretion; which after many long Debates, per- U. C.
mitted it to be put to the *Comitia*, and so it was 282.
pass'd.

*Comitia
Tributa.*

This was call'd the *Comitia Tributa*, where all the Free Romans voted according to their Tribes: Whereas in the *Comitia Curiata*, none cou'd Vote but Inhabitants of Rome; in the *Comitia Centuriata*, the Rich Men had the advantage, by Reason of their Number of Centuries; but in this *Comitia Tributa*, there was no Respect to either of these Qualifications, but all Free Romans in or without the City, Poor or Rich, might have Voices. Another Difference between this and the *Curiata Comitia*, was the Place of Assembly; that being ti'd to the *Comitium* in the *Forum Romanum*, and that with the Superstitious Observations of Birds, call'd *Auspicia*; but this *Tributa* was ti'd to no set Place, being assembled in a great many several, without any Observation of Birds. But the most material Difference between these Two *Comitia's*, was this; in the *Curiata* such Things were treated of, and confirm'd by the Suffrages of the *Curie*, as the Senate had first decreed; but in the *Tributa*, all Things were manag'd without any consulting of the Senate, and were wholly determin'd by the Votes of the Tribes gather'd apart. The Matters that were manag'd here, were chiefly, The chusing of Inferior Magistrates, as the Tribunes, *Ædiles*, Priests, &c. making of those Laws, call'd *Plebiscita*, or whatsoever shou'd concern the Commons; as also the Punishment of Misdemeanors, but not as to Life and Death; and the making Peace, but not War. This new Law gave the Commons still more Power and Authority, and made 'em still more Bold and Insolent, to the danger of many a *Patritian*, and to the Ruin of *Appius*, whose ill Success against the *Volsi* this same Year, and his violent opposing the *Agrarian Law* the next, made the Tribunes set him a Day to answer for his Life before the People, which he prevented by killing himself.

U. C.
284.

VI. Still had the Romans Wars with the *Æqui*, *Sabines*, and *Volsi*, and had generally the better. From the

the *Volsci* wastaken *Antium*, a considerable City on the Sea, 28 Miles South-East of *Rome*, which they made a *Roman* Colony. For nine Years together, none of these got any considerable Advantage over the *Romans*; tho in the midst of these Wars, there hapned a most grievous Plague in *Rome*, which swept away an innumerable Company of the Slaves, a fourth Part of the Senators, both the Consuls, and most of the *Tribunes*. The *Equi* and *Volsci* were at last much worsted, their Territories greatly wasted, and *Lucretius* and *Veturius*, the Consuls, obtain'd one a *Triumph*, and the other an *Ovation* over them. The Year after this, and of the City 292, *Volumnius* and *Camerinus*, the Consuls, having nothing to do Abroad, employ'd themselves at Home against the exorbitant Power of the *Tribunes*, who were now got to that height of Boldness as to assert, That the Citizens ought all to have equal Power in the Government; they likewise made great Complaints, that the *Roman* Laws were yet Unwritten; and thereupon propos'd a Law to have ten Men chosen in a lawful Assembly, to publish Laws both concerning all Private and Publick Business. The young *Patricians* furiously oppos'd their Designs, casting the meaner Sort like Slaves out of the *Forum*. Among these Sticklers, *Cæso Quintius*, the Son of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, was Principal, a Person of great Courage, whom the *Tribunes* resolv'd to make an Example to all young Men, and therefore set him a Day to answer for his Life before the People, which caus'd new Stirs and Com-motions. *Cæso* being admitted to Bail, fled into *Hetruria*; whereupon his Father sold almost all his Estate to reimburse the Sureties, and then retreating to a small Farm, and a little Cottage beyond the *Tiber*, liv'd retir'd from the World, laboriously working for his Living.

The *Tribunes* were much cross'd in their Expectations, and the young *Patricians* so hotly oppos'd 'em,

U. C.
293.

that they could do nothing this Consulship. The next year, the same *Tribunes* being chosen again, they caus'd various Rumors to be spread abroad, *That many of the Senators and Patritians had form'd a Plot, and conspir'd to Murther the Tribunes, and Ruin all the Authority of the Plebeians.* This Contrivance was design'd to fright the Senate into a Compliance, but had no other Effects than the causing great Tumults and Disturbances among the Commons. These Troubles were so great as to give Occasion to *Herdonius*, a *Sabine*, with 4000 Men to seize on the *Capitol*, calling in the Slaves to their Liberty, which put the whole City into a great Consternation, all being in a Confusion. *Valerius* and *Claudius* were then Consuls, and the *Tribunes* perswaded the Multitude not to Fight, except the *Patritians* wou'd engage by Oath to create ten Men for making of Laws, and suffer the Commons to have equal Priviledges with them. *Claudius* wou'd have wholly slighted their Assistance, but *Valerius* finding such pressing Necessity for 'em, promis'd upon Oath to endeavour to satisfy the Desire of the Commons when the War was ended. Whereupon *Claudius* was appointed to look to the City, and *Valerius* valiantly attack'd the *Capitol* on all Sides, and took it by Storm, but with the Loss of his Life; the Slaves being punish'd according to their Deserts, and the rest made Prisoners of War.

This War finish'd, the *Tribunes* requir'd *Claudius* to make good the Promise of his deceased Colleague; but he alledg'd, *He could do nothing himself*, and appointed the *Comitia* for the choosing a new Consul. The Fathers, the better to support their Interest, resolv'd upon *Quintius Cincinnatus*, Father to *Cas* lately fled, and immediately sent for him to the City. The Messengers found him hard at Plow, only in his Truss, and a Cap on his Head; but being told of their coming by a *Viator* that ran before, he present-
ed

ed himself in a better Habit. Being saluted by the Name of *Consul*, invested with Purple, honour'd by the *Fasces* and other *Ensigns* of Magistracy, he was desir'd to begin his Journey; but after a little Pause he answer'd with Tears, *Then for this Year my Poor little Field must go unsown, and we shall be in danger of Want.* After this, taking his leave of his Wife, he departed for the City. This *Quintius* partly by Cunning, and partly by Threats restrain'd the *Tribunes* from preferring the Law; and carried himself so as to be a Terror to the Multitude when ever they refus'd to Lift themselves, and their greatest Incourager when their Behaviour was such as deserved it. He perform'd his Office with that Prudence and Justice, and likewise with that Civility and Courtesie, that the Commons were now of Opinion, that they stood in no need of new Laws: Then having finish'd his Consulship, he to the Concern of the whole Senate, betook himself to his little Cottage, and his former laborious Course of Life. The Year following, the *Aequi* surpriz'd *Tusculum*, but were worsted by the *Romans*, together with their Friends the *Volscei*, and were forc'd to beg Peace: And in this Year, there were found 119000 Free Citizens, according to *Eutropius*.

In the next Consulship, the *Aequi* and *Volscei* were drawn to revolt by *Gracchus Clælius*, a ruling Man among 'em, who by his Industry so hemm'd in and block'd up the *Roman Army*, that it was in great Danger of being lost. This put the City into a great Consternation, so that they were glad to have recourse to a Dictator, and *Quintius Gincennatus* was immediately resolv'd upon. The Messengers found him sweating and Toiling as before; but he seeing himself made Dictator by the 24 Axes, the Purple, the Horses, and other Royal *Ensigns*, was so far from being pleas'd with the Honour, that he said with great Concern, *This year's Crop will also be lost, and my poor Family must*
be

Dic. iv.

U. C.

295.

Jugum.

Tribunes
increas'd.
U. C.
296.

be Starv'd. At his entring the City, he encourag'd the People what he cou'd, and chose *Tarquinius* for his *Master of the Horse*; then drawing out his Troops, he fell upon *Clalins* and forc'd him into his Intrenchments; and Besieging him a while, brought his whole Army to his Mercy, who were forc'd to yield at Discretion. They were all made Prisoners of War; and in token of Servitude, *Quintius* made 'em pass under the *Jugum*, which was two Spears sets up, with a third cross, like a Gallows; and likewise made 'em deliver up *Corbio*. He order'd the choicest Plunder for *Rome*, and the rest to be given to his Soldiers; then return'd to the City with a more Magnificent Triumph than any before him, having defeated a powerful Army, and plunder'd and fortify'd a City of the Enemy within Fourteen days after his Creation. He immediately resign'd his Office, and when the Senate and his private Friends wou'd have enrich'd him with publick Lands, Plunder and Contributions, he utterly refus'd all, betaking himself again to his Cottage, and his old Course of Life. The Year following the *Sabines* with the *Aequi* retook *Corbio*, against whom when Levies were to be made, the *Tribunes*, who were all created a Fourth time, withstood them again. Whereupon the Fathers with weeping Eyes fell to Entreaties, offering to go in their own Persons if they refus'd; which so sensibly mov'd the People, *That they promis'd all manner of Obedience, if they wou'd permit the number of their Tribunes to be encreased to ten*: Which the Senate after some Debates Granted, reasonably supposing, that their Number wou'd prove the likeliest Means to divide 'em; but then with this *Proviso*, as *Liivy* says, *That they shou'd never abuse the same Tribunes twice*. This done, Levies were made, and a successful War was carri'd on against the *Sabines* and *Aequi*.

U. C.
297.

VII. The Domestick Troubles seem'd for a while to be allaid, but in a Years time, the *Tribunes* uniting

ing all together, made further Incroachments than ever, and ventur'd so far as to Assemble the Senate by their own proper Authority; moreover requiring Mount *Aventine* for the People to build on, which being a Mile and a half in Compass, was not yet fully inhabited, but Common, and full of Wood. The Senate, after most violent Quarrels on both Sides, out of hopes it might be a Means to suppress the *Agrarian* Seditions, Granted those Parts that were Common to the People, who spent the remaining part of the Year in Building, to the considerable Encrease of the City. This Grant satisfy'd the Commons but for a little while; for the next Year their old Complaints were renew'd, and carri'd on with all the violent Heats and Animosities that cou'd be imagin'd, often proceeding to Blows; till at last the *Tribunes*, having thrown off all Respect, insolently set a Day to the Consuls themselves to Answer before the People. But this appear'd so odious to many, that they were prevail'd upon to let such a Matter fall, as being dangerous both to themselves, and the whole State of *Rome*. But at the same time they made a firm Resolution to prefer the *Agrarian* Law, which they agreed to do in the next Assembly, and for that Reason they appointed a day apart for the *Comitia*.

At this Assembly were great Numbers of all Ranks and Qualities; where the *Tribunes* having spoken very largely on that Subject, several of the *Plebeians* related what good Services they had done the Commonwealth, and how little Reward they had for their Pains: Among which, was *Siccius Dentatus*, a Man of admirable Shape and Courage, 58 years of Age, well furnish'd with Military Eloquence for a Seditious Attempt, who told 'em, *He had serv'd his Country in the Wars forty Years, had been an Officer thirty, first a Centurion, then a Tribune; had fought one hundred and twenty Battels, in which he had sav'd many a Patritians Life, recover'd several Standards, gain'd vast Spoils, perform'd*

form'd many great and dangerous Exploits, receiv'd five and forty Wounds, all before and none behind, particularly twelve in that day the Capitol was recover'd: Yet notwithstanding he had fought so many Years, serv'd in so many Expeditions, receiv'd so many Wounds, help'd to gain so many large Territories for his Country, and had spar'd no Cost or Labour, nor refus'd any Danger or Difficulty; yet neither he, nor any of his Fellow-sharers in his Dangers, had receiv'd the least Portion of those Lands they had gain'd by their Swords, but that they were possess'd by others who had not the least Title or Merit to shew for 'em. These Particulars he urg'd at large, withall accusing the *Patricians* of many Designs against the Priviledges of the People, and the publick Peace of the City; which he did with such Rhetorick and Cunning, that the Commons were almost transported with the Man. Yet still the *Patricians* by their wonderful Prudence and cautious Management, tho with extream Hazard to themselves, so far defeated their Designs, that the Law cou'd not be pass'd.

These Disturbances were somewhat diverted by the Enemies March as far as *Tusculum*, against whom *Siccius* went as Volunteer, where the Consuls put him upon a most desperate Attempt, which gain'd him the highest Honour, instead of procuring his Ruin, as they imagin'd it wou'd have done. A notable Victory was gain'd over the *Aequi* by his Means, and he reveng'd himself upon the Consuls, by preventing their Triumph this Year, and by getting 'em fin'd the next, when he himself was made one of the *Tribunes*. Upon which a Law pass'd in the *Centuriata Comitia*, That All Magistrates shou'd have Power to punish such as violated their Authority (which before was only the Priviledge of the Consuls) But not by any Fine exceeding two Oxen or thirty Sheep; which Law was long observ'd by the Romans. This new Law pleas'd the People, and all now being a little more moderate, the whole Body of Rome began to consider of Ways and Methods to settle

tle the Government more firmly, and to prevent all dangerous Feuds for the Future; thereupon it was agreed, That Ambassadors shou'd be sent to the *Greek Cities in Italy* and to *Athens*, to bring such Laws from thence as were most excellent, and most convenient for the Commonwealth.

For this great Design, *Posthumius, Sulpicius*, and *Manlius* were fix'd upon, and Gallies assign'd for their use, suitable to the Majesty of the *Roman People*. The Year following, there hapned a great Famine, and a most grievous Plague: And the Year after, the Ambassadors return'd out of *Greece* with their Laws, presently after which the *Tribunes* requir'd, that Law-makers might be appointed; and after many grave Debates, and some Opposition, it was Granted. The Method that they all agreed upon was, That ten Men out of the Chief of the Senate shou'd be elected, whose Power continuing for a Year, shou'd be the same with that of Kings and Consuls, and that without any Appeal; that all other Magistracies shou'd cease till they might be renew'd according to the Laws. This was agreed on by the Senate, and confirm'd by the People; and the Consuls elect, immediately resigning their Office, were made Part of the *Decemvirate*; and also the *Tribunes, Ediles, Questors*, &c. were divested of all Power and Authority. This was a most remarkable Change of Government, as great as that from Kings to Consuls, and was the second sort of Intermission of the *Consular Power*, which hapned in the second Year of the 82d. Olympiad, 302 Years after the Building of the City, 57 after the Banishment of *Tarquin*, 30 after *Xerxes's* Expedition into *Greece*, and 450 before our Saviour *Christ*.

C H A P. IV.

*From the Creation of the Decemviri, to the
third Intermission of the Consular Power,
by the Military Tribunes.*

Containing the Space of 8 Years.

U. C.

302.

Decemviri.

THE ten Persons chosen by the *Centuriate Comitia* for this high Office, were *Appius* and *Germanicus*, the late Consuls elect; *Posthumius*, *Sulpicius*, and *Manlius*, the three Ambassadors; *Sextius* and *Romulus*, former Consuls; with *Julius Veturium*, and *Horatius*, all Senators. These being invested with almost absolute Power, agreed that only one of 'em at one time, shou'd have the *Fasces* and other Consular *Emblems*, to which they were to succeed by Turns, for a certain limited Time, till the Year came about. And he whose Turn it was for the time being, assembled the Senate, confirm'd the Decrees, and did all other Things that belonged to a chief Magistrate to do; the Rest, to take away Envy, differ'd little in Habit from private Persons, having only an *Accensus*, or a sort of a Beadle going before 'em. These great Men for a time manag'd all Things with such Justice and Moderation, that the Commonwealth seem'd most Happy under them; and *Appius* above the Rest grew exceeding Popular, carrying away the chief Praise from the whole Colledge, having indeed greater, and more secret Designs than the Rest. At length, having made a Model out of such Laws as were brought from Greece, and their own Countries Customs, they expos'd 'em to the View of all Men in ten Tables, that any one might make Exceptions. When all were approv'd of,

of, a *Senatus Consultum* pass'd *Nemine contradicente*, for the ratifying of these Laws; and the Question being put to the People in the *Centuriata Comitia*, they were most Religiously, and Ceremoniously confirm'd in the Presence of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs* and *Priests*; then were they ingraven in Brass (some say Ivory) and plac'd for publick View in the most conspicuous Part of the *Forum*.

The Year being almost out, the *Decemviri* mov'd the Senate for a Continuance of this Office; and after a great Debate it was resolv'd by them, to have the same kind of Magistracy for the following Year, because something seem'd yet Wanting to the new Model; but especially because this Office Suspended the *Tribune-ship*, which had been an intollerable Burden to the State. A *Comitia* was appointed on purpose, where the most Ancient and Honourable of the Fathers stood for this Office, fearing if it fell into the Hands of turbulent Persons, it might prove very dangerous to the Peace of the Commonwealth. *Appius* had now gain'd the Hearts of the People, and his Behaviour and Actions were extoll'd to the Skies, therefore they labour'd earnestly to retain him in his Place; but he Cunningly desir'd to be excus'd the Undertaking such a troublesome and ungrateful Work. But at last, overcome as it were by the Intreaties of the People, he plac'd himself among the *Candidates*; where by a crafty Insinuation of his own Services, and a malicious Accusation of the other *Patritians*, as owing him a Spight for his publick Spirit, he not only made way for himself, but for his Friends too. He procur'd to be Chosen with himself, *Fabius*, a former Consul; *Cornelius*, *Servilius*, *Mimucius*, *Antonius*, and *Rabulius*, all *Patritians*; and *Petilius*, *Duellius*, and *Appius*, all *Plebeians*; whom he took in the more to Ingratiate himself with the Rabble; Saying, *It was very just that the Commons shou'd have a Share in that Magistracy, which was to Govern and Command all.*

On

On the first Day after their Creation, they all made the Appearance with Regal Ensigns, which exceedingly terrify'd the People, especially the *Axes* now added again to the *Rods*, which *Poplicola* had laid aside to prevent Distaste. The first Thing the *Decemviri* did, was their Promising each other by Oath, *To be of one Mind; to retain the Power in their own Hands; to be of equal Authority among themselves, and to admit none into their Number; Never to make use of Senatus Consultum's and Plebeiscitum's but in Case of Necessity, Acting most Things by Vertue of their own Power.* These Things they observ'd with great Exactness; nothing valuing the *Roman* Senate and People; and Exercising their Authority with all Licentiousness: by which Means it came to pass, that they being both Legislators and Judges, many Citizens were unjustly put to Death, and others depriv'd of their Estates; whose Causes they all formally Judg'd, that they might make the greater Shew and Pretence of Justice. Accusers were Subborn'd out of their Dependents, each one affording all Assistance herein to his Colleague; and such private Persons as had Suits depending, had no other Way to make sure of their Causes, but by joyning themselves with the Judges Party, so that in short time most of the Citizens were also Corrupted. And such as were most offended at the Extravagancy of the *Decemvires* Actions, withdrew themselves, waiting for a New Creation of Magistrates.

U. C.
303.

The
twelve
Tables.

One very memorable Thing was done by 'em this Year, which was their adding two Tables of Law to the ten that were made the Year before; whereof one forbad all Marriages between the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*. These two together with the other ten, always went by the Name of the *Laws of the twelve Tables*, being much Talk'd of by many Authors, and extreamly Commended by *Cicero*, as containing Things of the greatest Policy, and Excelling the Libraries of all the Philosophers. They were divided into three Parts,

Parts, whereof the first contain'd what belong'd to the Religion of the *Romans*; the second, what concern'd the Publick; and the third, the Rights of private Persons. These Laws being establish'd, it necessarily follow'd, That Disputations and Controversies would arise, which requir'd the Interpretation, and Determination of the Learned: Now this Interpretation, or this unwritten Law fram'd by the Learned, was call'd by the common Name of *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law*. Besides, certain Cases were Compos'd out of these Laws almost at the same time; which Cases, least the People shou'd make 'em at their Pleasure, were to be certain and Solemn; and this part of Law was call'd *Actiones Juris*, or *Cases at Law*: So that almost at the same time arose these three sorts of Law: Namely, the *Laws of the twelve Tables*, call'd barely *Leges*, the *Civil Law*, and the *Cases at Law*. The Rest of the *Roman Laws*, that were either before or after these, according to *Pomponius* were of these Sorts; Namely, a *Plebiscitum*, made by the Commons without the Authority of the Fathers; or an *Edict* of a Magistrate call'd *Jus Honorarium*; or an Ordinance of the Senate by their Sole Authority, call'd *Senatus Consultum*; or Lastly, that call'd *Principalis Constitutio*, which was Enacted by the Prince or the Emperor.

But to return to the *Decemviri*, who now neither regarded the Approbation of Senate nor People; but in a meer Arbitrary Way, continu'd themselves in Power for the Year following, which was the third of the *Decemvirate*. They so order'd Matters in a short time, that even the most Considerable of the Citizens, *Patritians* and others, were either Murder'd or forc'd to quit the City. At the same time the *Sabines* and *Aequi* began to invade the *Roman* and *Latine* Territories, which did not a little startle the *Decemviri*, because they found no means of Resistance without first assembling the Senate, which had been laid aside for some considerable time. At this pressing Juncture a

Senate was at last call'd, where *Appius* in a Premeditated Oration propounded the Business of the War : Upon which, *Valerius* the Grand-Son of *Poplicola*, first stood up, and, tho' *Appius* Commanded him to forbear, violently exclaim'd against the Tyranny of the present Usurpers. He being forc'd to Silence, was Seconded by *Marcus Horatius*, Grand-Son to *Poplicola's* Collegue, who having express'd great Indignation, the *Decemviri* threatned to have him cast Headlong down the *Tarpeian* Rock. All the Senators exclaim'd against this, as the highest Breach of their Priviledges, and a great Piece of Injustice : Whereat the ten, a little repenting this Rashness, began to excuse themselves, Saying, *They hinder'd none of the Liberty of speaking to the Matter in hand, but interrupted all Seditious Orations, which they might do by their Power of Consuls and Tribunes receiv'd from the People, not for a Year, or any limited Time, but till the great Work of the Laws shou'd be Finish'd ; until which they were resolv'd to Act, and wou'd then give an Account of their Administration.*

The Design of Tyranny and Slavery, too plainly appear'd under this Veil ; whereupon *Claudius*, *Appius's* Uncle stood up, and very handsomely expos'd the Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Carriage of his Nephew and nine Companions ; plainly Demonstrating, that this War was Solely occasion'd by the present Distempers of the State ; withall advising the Senators to resolve nothing till the accustomed Magistrates were first Created. Many of the younger Sort were of Opinion, that the present Urgency requir'd the War to be Committed to the Management of the *Decemviri* ; and others were for Creating a Dictator, which Opinion had the most plausible Appearance of any : So that the House was very much divided ; many, out of Fear either of the *Decemviri*, or the Enemies, having alter'd their first Intentions. *Appius* took Advantage of these Divisions, and look'd upon his own Parties Votes as a sufficient Determination ; whereupon he
immediatly

immediately Commanded the Clerk to draw up a *Senatus Consultum*, whereby full Power of Levying Forces, and Commanding them, was given to the Decemviri; and straight the Senate was dismiss'd, to the great Dissatisfaction of many. This new Way of Proceeding made *Horatius* and *Valerius* stand upon their own Defence, gathering together their Clients and Dependents; and caus'd *Claudius* to go over to the *Sabines*, where he liv'd. And notwithstanding all the Care and Provision of the *Decemviri*, great Multitudes follow'd his Example, leaving their Native Seats, with their Wives and Children; and went into a voluntary Exile.

II. The *Decemviri* divided their Army into three Parts, whereof one continu'd with *Appius* and *Oppius* in the City; and the other two were Commanded by their Collegues, one against the *Aequi*, and the other against the *Sabines*. The *Aequi* forc'd the *Romans* to abandon their Camp, and fly Shamefully; which caus'd great Joy in *Rome* among the Enemies of the *Decemviri*: So that *Appius* fearing some Attempt, wrote to his Collegues in the Army, to destroy their known Adversaries by any Means, which was Effectuated upon several. But at *Rome*, among many others *Siccus Dentatus*, the *Roman Achilles* as he was call'd, Blam'd the Commanders as Cowards and Unskilful; whereupon *Appius*, to get rid of him, with good Words perswaded him to go as Lieutenant, or *Legatus* to the Army then lying at *Crustumeria* against the *Sabines*. *Siccus* without any Suspicion or Distrust, undertook the Employment; for the Office of *Legatus* was most Sacred and Honourable among the *Romans*, *Legatus*, having the Power and Authority of a General, and the Inviolableness, and Veneration of a Priest. Upon his Arrival at the Camp, he was sent out with a Party of 100 Men, who had strict Orders to Murder him; where he shew'd such incredible Strength and Valour, that he Kill'd fifteen of 'em himself, and wounded

twice as many, as *Dionysius* has it; so that at length they were forc'd to throw Darts and Stones at him; keeping some distance, and by that Means effected their Design; The Assassins gave out that he fell into the Enemies hands; but the Souldiers well enough perceiving the Villany, began to grow very Mutinous; and the *Decemviri* to appease 'em, gave *Siccus* a very Honourable Burial, which was perform'd with much Ceremony, and an universal Sorrow among the Souldiers, who from that time thought upon nothing but a Revolt; which the other Army lying at *Algedum* against the *Aequi*, soon after found a fair Opportunity to Effect.

It was occasion'd by one *Virginus* a *Plebeian*, who had a Daughter of most admirable Beauty, and of as great Chastity, whom *Appius* saw by Chance, and was so extreemly smitten with her, that nothing cou'd allay his violent Passion. His own Laws had forbidden him Marrying her, as being a *Plebeian*; nor cou'd he hope to enjoy her any other Way, but by procuring *Claudius* one of his *Clients*, to Challenge her for his Slave; so that the Matter being brought before him, he might Judge her to be so. *Claudius*, according to his Instructions, laid Claim to her; and bringing the Matter to a Tryal before *Appius*, he affirm'd, *That She was natural Daughter to his Slave, procur'd by Virginus's Wife, being Barren and now Dead, and brought up for her own; a thing though known to others, as well as himself, he had no Opportunity till now to make it appear.* This Pretence was so Impudent and Groundless, as it rais'd the Indignation of all unconcern'd Persons; and *Numitor* the Maids Uncle, with *Scilius* who was Contracted to her, sufficiently prov'd the Falsity of the Assertion. But *Appius*, Resolutely bent upon his Lustful and base Design, wou'd hear no Reason, nor mind any Proof; till at last the loud Crys and Murmurs of the Multitude, prevail'd with him to put it off till her Father cou'd be sent for from the Camp to defend

defend her Cause, for which he wou'd allow but one Day. He immediately wrote to *Algidum* at the Camp to Confine *Virginus* ; but *Numitor* and *Scilius's* Brother intercepted the Letters, and *Virginus* pretending the Death of a nigh Relation, got Leave to leave the Camp, and come posting to the City.

The next Day, *Virginus* appear'd at the Place, to the great Surprize of *Appius*, he and his Daughter both in Mourning, Accompanied with several weeping Matrons, and a great Number of Advocates, the whole City Crowding into the *Forum*. *Virginus* prov'd the Maid to be his own Daughter ; but *Appius*, corrupted by the Greatness of his Power, and inflam'd with the Heat of his Lust, neither consider'd the just Defence of the Father, nor the bitter Tears of the poor Virgin ; but was inrag'd at the Pity of the Standers by, thinking himself a greater Object of Pity, who endur'd more for her Beauty sake than she herself did. He interrupted all that Spake in her behalf, Commanding their Silence, and strait Judg'd *Claudius* to be right Lord and Owner of her. Great Outcrys and Lamentations being made, as well by others as the Virgin and her Relations, all knowing she was doom'd to the Tyrant's Lust, *Appius* Commanded all to depart, and order'd *Claudius* to take Possession of his Slave. *Virginus* finding no Relief, desir'd he might speak a Word with his Daughter before he left her ; which being Granted, he Dragg'd her hanging about him to a Butchers Stall hard by, and pitifully bewailing her deplorable Condition ; where catching a Knife in his Hands, he said, *Daughter, I will send thee to our Ancestors both Free and Unspotted, for the Merciless Tyrant will suffer thee to be neither here ;* and thereupon Stabb'd her to the Heart : Then casting his angry Eyes up to the Tribunal, he Cry'd out, *Appius, with this Blood I doom thee to certain Death.* With the bloody Knife in his Hand, in a great Fury, he ran through the City, wildly calling upon the People in

all Places, to regain their Liberty; and coming to the Gate, rod Post to the Army, a Company of 400 *Plebeians* following him.

In this Posture *Virginus* arriv'd at the Camp, with the Knife and his Cloths all Bloody; where with all his Rhetorick and Pathetick Reasons he perswaded 'em to revolt from the *Ten*, and redeem their sinking Country; shewing 'em likewise, That their Sacramentum or Military Oath, was no ways binding in this Case, because the Oath suppos'd the Commanders to be made according to Law, which the *Ten* were not, having Usurp'd all the Power and Authority they cou'd pretend to. The Army, ready enough for such a Design, immediately decamp'd, some few *Centurions* only remaining, and took their Station on Mount *Aventine*; and the next day, fortifying their Camp, chose ten Captains, whereof one *Oppius* was Chief: And soon after came great Parties from the other Army, who were much Offended at the Murder of *Siccus*, and joyn'd them. *Appius* in the mean time having endeavour'd by Force to suppress the Disturbances he had rais'd in the City, was so overpower'd by the Parties of *Valerius* and *Horatius* formerly mention'd, that he was forc'd to keep to his House. *Oppius*, one of the *Decemviri*, assembled the Fathers, and urg'd the Punishment of all Deserters; but the Senate was so sensible of the Threatning Dangers and Miseries of the State, that they were glad to come to any Agreement with the Soldiers: Therefore they immediately dispatch'd Messengers to the Army, which had lately remov'd to the Holy Mount, to compose all Differences. Where the People demanded to have the same Form of Government as was before the Creation of the *Decemviri*, which was readily Granted 'em, the People all returning home to the City. Thus in less than three Years time, ended the famous *Decemvirate*,

III. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were for their Services U. C. made Consuls for the remaining part of the Year. 304 These preferred divers Laws in favour of the Commons, to the great Regret of the *Patritians*; whereof one was, *That such Laws as the Commons enacted in the Comitia Tributa, shou'd have the same Force as those made in the Comitia Centuriata*; which was a great Advantage to the People. After this, the *Tribunes*, whereof *Virginius* was one, thought fit to call the *Decemviri* to an Account. *Appius* was Committed to Prison, no Bail being allow'd him; but before his Tryal was found Dead, but by what means is uncertain. *Oppius*, the next to him in Guilt, was accus'd; and being Condemn'd, dy'd the same day in Prison by his own Hands. The other eight banish'd themselves, and *Claudius* the pretended Master of *Virginia*, was driven out after 'em; with which Justice the State was satisfy'd, and Indemnity given to all others. Things thus settled, the Consuls took the Field against the *Aequi*, *Volsci* and *Sabines*, and so successfully as to deserve a Triumph; but the Senate gave 'em a Repulse for making Laws so much in favour of the Commons, and so disadvantageous to the *Patritian* Priviledges. The Consuls appeal'd to the People, and Complaining much of the Senate, by the help of the *Tribunes* procur'd a Law to pass, *for receiving the Priviledge of Triumph from the People*. Thus did the *Plebeian* Power encrease daily, each Morfel of the *Patritians* Prerogative serving only to add to their insatiable Appetites.

Little was done by the *Romans* for three Years after, besides the Wars with the *Volsci* and *Aequi*, which were carri'd on with no great Vigour, by reason of the frequent Disputes between the Senate and People; till the Year 308, the Enemy made Ravages and IncurSIONS to the Walls of *Rome*. This put the People upon considering the common safety

Safety of the State, and under the Command of *Quintius* and *Furius* the Consuls for this Year, they obtain'd a notable Victory over them. This Victory was attended with a remarkable Determination of the *Romans*, between the Inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia*, who had had frequent Contests about certain Lands, and had left it to *Rome* to be Judge. One *Scaptius*, an Old Commoner of 84 Years old, stood up, and declar'd, *That these very Lands by Right belonged formerly to Corioli, and consequently to the Romans, who ought to have 'em.* The Senate were alham'd to determine the Thing this way, because it had been left to them to be Judges; but the People, ready to catch at any Advantage, wou'd needs have it Voted in the *Comitia Tributa*; where the Lands were adjudged, *To be the Publick Possession of the Roman People*, to the great Surprize of the *Ardeans* and *Aricians*, who were forc'd to go home as well satisfy'd as they cou'd.

U. C.
309.

IV. The *Tribunes* now grew more and more turbulent, and nothing wou'd satisfie the Commons but a share in the highest Offices, and Places of Trust; and for that Reason they propos'd two Laws, one to permit the Marriages of *Patritians* with *Plebeians*; and the other to make the *Plebeians* capable of the Consulship, which they never were before. The Senators took these Proposals most hainously, seeing their Priviledges in danger to be Ruin'd, and were resolv'd to endure the utmost Extremities rather than pass these Laws; but finding such violent Commotions in the State, they pass'd the Law about Marriages, in hopes that wou'd satisfie the People, and make them not insift upon the other. This appeas'd the Commons for a little time; but soon after, when the *Aequi* and *Sabines* made great Ravages in the *Roman* Territories, they took the Advantage of these Troubles, and utterly refus'd to Lift themselves,

selves, till they were made likewise Partakers of the Consulship, nor cou'd they be prevail'd upon to defer the Matter till the War was over. Upon this, the Consuls were forc'd to hold a private Conference of the Chief of the Senators, where after some Debates, *Claudius* propos'd an Expedient as the most seasonable in this pressing Conjuncture. He advis'd 'em by no means to suffer the Consulship to come into the Hands of the Plebeians, but to create certain Governors in the room of Consuls, Six or Eight, whereof one half at least shou'd be Patritians: For by this means they shou'd seem not to take too much Power to themselves, and yet retain all their Prerogative. This Project extreamly pleas'd the whole Meeting; and that nothing might seem to be design'd before-hand, they agreed, that at the next Meeting of the Senate, the Consuls shou'd not ask the Senior's Opinions first, as the Custom was, but the Younger's and most Popular. And *Genutius*, the Consul's Brother, was fix'd upon to propound this way of Reconciliation, purely as his own private Opinion.

Upon the Assembling the Senate, *Canuleius*, the Tribune, upbraided the Consuls with holding of secret Meetings, and hatching dangerous Designs against the State. The Consuls on the other side protested their Innocency, and to shew it more clearly, gave leave to any of the younger Sort to speak first, who cou'd not be suppos'd to be acquainted with any private Contrivances, and to *Valerius* in particular. *Valerius* advis'd the Fathers to favour the Commons, who had so well deserv'd both in gaining of Dominions, and getting and preserving the Liberty of the City; and urg'd further, That the City cou'd not be free till there was an Equality of Right. *Horatius*, and others, being next ask'd seconded him; and after that, *Claudius* being desir'd to speak, the better to conceal his Design, according to his old way, flew out into bitter Invectives against the Commons, and advis'd, That the
Law

Law might not pass, neither then nor ever after. This caus'd some Disturbance, but at last Genutius was ask'd his Opinion, who as it was before design'd propounded this Expedient to the Senate and People, That Six Governors shou'd be chosen with Consular Authority, three Patritians, and three Plebeians; and when the time of their Magistracy shou'd be expir'd, then the Senate and People might resolve whether they wou'd have the same Office, or that of Consuls for the Year following.

This Project was gladly embrac'd, both by the Senate and Commons; and leave was given to any *Plebeian* to stand for this new Office: Yet so fickle were the Minds of the Multitude, and so pleas'd with the bare Novelty of the thing, that tho many *Plebeians* stood for this Office, they thought none of 'em worthy of that Honour, but bestow'd it upon Eminent *Patritians* only, who appear'd as *Candidates*. This was the third Intermission of the Consular Power, tho the Authority was equivalent; and likewise the third great Change in *Rome*, which hapned scarce eight Years after the second, in the 310th of the City, 65 Years after the Expulsion of the Kings, and 442 before our Saviour Christ.

C H A P. V.

*From the Creation of the Military Tribunes
to the Burning of Rome by the Gauls;
which almost ruin'd the Roman Nation.*

Containing the Space of 54 Years.

THE *Consuls* being for a while laid aside, these U. C.
new Magistrates succeeded, being call'd by 310.
the Name of *Tribuni Militum*, or *Military Tribunes*, Tribuni Mi-
three *Patritians* only being chosen, namely *Sempronius* litum.
Atratinus, *Clælius Siculus*, and *Attilius Longus*. Thus
at first they were but three in Number, afterwards
they were increas'd to Six, and at length to Eight.
And tho these had the Power and Ensigns of *Consuls*,
yet their Number, together with the mixture of *Ple-*
beians which afterwards press'd in, made their Pri-
viledge and Dignity seem something Different and
Inferior: Whence a *Tribune* of the People afterwards
in way of Contempt, call'd them a *Proconsular*
Image; and *Manlius* the *Dictator*, shewing that a *Ma-*
ster of the Horse was inferior to a *Consul*, compar'd
his Power to that of these Magistrates. These *Mi-*
litary Tribunes having held their Office almost eight
Weeks, were constrain'd to lay it down, for that
the *Augurs* found some Flaw in their Election, and
Consuls were created afresh, *Sempronius* being one: So
that in Seventy three Days here was another Change
of Government, the Old one prevailing over the
New.

The following Year they procur'd *Consuls* again to
be elected, and not *Military Tribunes*, which were
Geganus and *Quintius*, who had both been *Consuls* be-
fore.

U. C.

311.

Censors.

fore. In this Year the Consuls finding the Publick Business to increase, to ease themselves, procur'd two new Magistrates to be created, call'd *Censors*, because the Business of the *Census*, which had been instituted by *Servius Tullius*, was one great Part of their Office. These Magistrates at first made no great Appearance, but in a little time they became Persons of extraordinary Dignity and Power, having all the Ornaments and Ensigns of Consuls, except *Lictors*. At the beginning, they were created for five Years, which space was call'd *Lustrum*, as was formerly observ'd; but soon after, their time was shortned to a Year and half, but still they were chosen but once in five Years, the *Census* being no oftner. Their Power was very large, and their Office very Extensive; for tho' at first they only perform'd the *Census*, taking an Estimate of Men's Estates, distributing them into their several *Classes* and *Centuries*, taking the Numbers of the Inhabitants, &c. yet in a short time they became Publick Inspectors of Men's Lives and Manners, and were therefore frequently call'd *Magistri Morum*; and took upon 'em to degrade *Senators* upon Misdemeanors, to take away Horse and Ring from *Equites* or *Knights*, and to turn *Plebeians* out of their *Tribes*, and put 'em into a Lower, and many other things of the like Nature. The two first *Censors* were *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, both *Patritians*, and the two last years Consuls; and these high Officers were for nigh 100 Years chosen out of the *Patritians*, and only such as were Eminent and Famous, and had formerly been *Consuls*, till the *Plebeians* found the way to this, as they did to all other Offices. Afterwards the *Roman Colonies* had their Magistrates, call'd *Sub-Censors*, who gave an Account to these, of the Number of Inhabitants, and their Wealth, which was immediately register'd in the *Censor's Book*.

The

The Fathers were extreemly satisfi'd that they had got these Magistrates created out of their own Body, and the *Tribunes* counting their Power inconsiderable were willing enough to agree to it. In this same Year, the *Ardeans*, as being Allies, sent to the *Romans* for Succour against the *Volsci*, who were call'd in by some dangerous Factions among themselves, and had reduc'd them to great Streights. The *Romans* were ready to serve the Persons they had so lately injur'd about their Lands, and immediately *Geganus*, the Consul, was sent with a considerable Army against the *Volsci*, and he soon reliev'd the *Ardeans*, and clear'd the Country of the Enemy. This Victory was very memorable, and the Consul had a noble Triumph, *Clulius*, the *Volscian* General, being led before the Chariot. *Ardea* had now been so dispeopled with the Factions, and the late Wars, that they were willing to accept of a *Roman* Colony, which the Senate sent soon after; and to shew a further Piece of Generosity, restor'd all the Lands they had before adjudg'd to the Publick Use, tho with the great Complaints of many of the Commons.

II. The Heats of the Commons were still kept alive, but for some time were of no dangerous Consequence, till three Years after, *Sp. Maelius*, a rich Knight, encourag'd upon these Contentions, by his large Bounty to the poorer Sort in time of a great Famine, began to affect Popularity, and by that means to aspire to the Sovereignty. His Designs were soon guess'd at, and he was accus'd of this by *Minucius*, who had the care of the Provisions; which thing in these fickle Times so startled the Senate, that by advice of *Quintius*, the Consul, they order'd a Dictator to be immediately created, the Tumult hourly increasing. *Quintius Cincinnatus*, now 80 Years old, was Dic. v. the Man, who chose *Servilius Abala* for his Master of U. C.

the 314.

the Horse. The Dictator presently summon'd *Maelius* to appear, who being well back'd and supported by the Mob, refus'd to obey, now breaking out into open Rebellion; whereupon *Abala* set upon him in the Forum, and kill'd him, and was justifi'd by *Quintius*, who commanded his Goods to be sold, and his House to be demolish'd. The Tribunes inrag'd at the Death of their great Friend, *Maelius*, procur'd Military Tribunes instead of Consuls to be created for the following Year, now six Years after their first Institution, hoping that some Plebeian might creep into the number of six, which might give 'em an Opportunity of revenging his Death: But three only were created, all Patricians too, and their Expectation wholly unanswer'd.

The following Year, Consuls were created again, and in the same Year, *Fidena*, a Roman Colony, revolted to *Tolumnius*, King of the *Veientes*; and to add to their Crime, by his Instigation, they treacherously murder'd the Ambassadors sent thither, who dying thus for the Publick, the Senate generously appointed Statues to be erected in their Honour. This War in the beginning prov'd so dangerous and threatening to the Romans, that they were forc'd to create a Dictator to manage it, *Marmercus Amelius* being the Person, who made choice of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, an Eminent Youth of the City, for his Master of the Horse. *Amelius*, the Dictator, obtain'd a great Victory over the Enemy, in which Battel *Cornelius Cossus*, a Tribune in the Army, slew King *Tolumnius* with his own Hands, and by that means obtain'd the Honour of the *Opima Spolia*, or Royal Spoils, which were the only ones since the Reign of *Romulus*. These Spoils were a great Grace to *Amelius's* Triumph, and a greater Honour to *Cossus*, they being with a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony consecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*.

Dic. vi.
U. C.
316.

Two Years after this, there hapned a great Plague in the City, and the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* press'd so hard upon the *Romans*, that they were forc'd to have recourse to another *Dictator*; and *Servilius Priscus* Dic. vii.
 was created, who chose *Æbutius Elva* for his *Ma-* U. C.
ster of the Horse. *Servilius* was so successful, as not 318.
 only to drive the Enemy back, but to take the
 Town of *Fidena*, which he did by a Mine. The
 taking of *Fidena* made so great a Noise, that the *Ve-*
ientes sent to all their Neighbours about for Succour,
 threatening no less than entire Destruction to *Rome*.
 These terrible Threats put the *Romans* upon creating
 another *Dictator*, a little above a Year after the last,
 which was *Æmelius*, who had been *Dictator* three Dic. viii.
 Years before, and he chose *Posthumius Tubertus* for U. C.
 his *Master of the Horse*. In a short time, the *Romans* 319.
 found that the *Veientes* cou'd procure no Aid, so the
Dictator had little to do abroad; but resolving to do
 something at home, he caus'd the *Censorship* to be re-
 duc'd to a Year and a half, which was 8 Years after
 its first Institution, and then laid down his Office.
 The *Censors* from this took an Occasion to remove
 him out of his *Tribe*, which so inrag'd the People,
 that the next time they procur'd *Military Tribunes* to
 be brought in again, after there had been *Consuls* 4
 Years: And in this Election, notwithstanding the great
 Industry of the *Tribunes* of the People, they cou'd not
 get in one of the Commons, which was a great Mor-
 tification to the Multitude.

At two Years end, the Senate took Occasion from
 the Wars of the *Æqui* and *Volscei* to bring in *Consuls*
 again; and partly for the Enemies great Preparati-
 ons, and partly for the violent Humour of the *Tri-*
bunes of the People, a *Dictator* was likewise created,
 tho against the *Consuls* Consent. This was *Posthumi-* Dic. ix.
us Tubero, who had *Julius Vopiscus* for his *Master of the* U. C.
Horse, who having finish'd this War successfully, tri- 322.
 umph'd and laid down his Office. For four Years
 after

Mil. Tri-
bunes en-
creas'd.
U. C.
326.

after this, they had *Consuls*, in which space little was done abroad or at home; then the Commons prevail'd to have *Military Tribunes* again created, which was now the fifth time, and they had four in Number, but still they cou'd not bring about their Designs. In this year *Fidena* revolted again, and joyn'd with the *Veientes*; whereupon three of the *Consular Tribunes* were sent against the Enemy, and the fourth left to govern the City. When they came to an Engagement, one of the *Tribunes* cri'd *Charge*, another cri'd *Halt*, all three being of a several mind, till there was such Confusion, that the *Romans* betook themselves to their Heels and fled, which sufficiently convinc'd 'em of the Folly of having several Generals in one Army. The City upon this was put into such a Consternation, that immediately a *Dictator* was created, which was *Amelius*, a third time, who chose *Cossus*, who had obtain'd the last *Opima Spolia*, for his *Master of the Horse*. By the Prudence and Valour of these two, the *Veientes* were overthrown, and *Fidena* taken and plunder'd: Then *Amelius* returning to *Rome* in Triumph, laid down his Office, after he had held it but 17 Days.

Dis. X.
U. C.
327.

For two Years after this, *Military Tribunes* continu'd; at the end of which, the Senate took Occasion from the War with the *Volsci*, and the Absence of those Magistrates to bring in *Consuls* again, notwithstanding the *Tribunes* of the People oppos'd it what they cou'd. But *Sempronius*, one of the *Consuls*, managing this War very carelessly, the *Tribunes* from thence took advantage, and *Military Tribunes* were created again the next Year. This was for one Year, at the end of which, the Senate procur'd *Consuls* to be made again; and *Capitolinus*, one of 'em, gain'd advantage enough over the *Aequi*, to procure him an *Ovation*. When this Year was expir'd, there hapned so great a Contention about two *Quaestors* or *Treasurers*, which the Commons wou'd have created out

out of their Body, that the State fell into an *Interregnum*. *Papirius* being *Interrex*, for a Composure, procur'd *Military Tribunes* to be again admitted, and four *Quæstors* (which was two more than formerly) to be created either out of the *Patritians* or *Plebeians*, as the People shou'd think best in their *Comitia*. Notwithstanding this, tho many of the Commons striv'd for it, not one of 'em cou'd get to be either *Military Tribune*, or so much as *Quæstor*, which much incens'd the People. In the second Year after this, *Military Tribunes* still continuing, the Slaves conspir'd to Fire the City, and seize on the *Capitol*; but the Plot was timely found out, and the Discoverers greatly rewarded. The following Year, the *Æqui* joyn'd with the People of *Lavicum*, press'd hard upon the Roman Territories, and the *Consular Tribunes* quarrelling among themselves for the Superiority, they got great Advantages; insomuch, that a *Dictator* was created, which was *Servilius Priscus* a second time, who chose his Son *Axilla* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Servilius* soon dispatch'd his Business, and laid down his Office, after he had kept it but eight Days.

After this, for four Years successively, were *Military Tribunes* instead of *Consuls*, till new Contentions arising between the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, tho partly from old Grudges, and especially upon the account of the *Agrarian Law*, the State fell again into an *Interregnum*. *Fabius* being *Interrex*, brought in *Consuls* again, which continu'd so for five Years longer, in which space of time not very much was done either abroad or at home. In the fifth Year, the Commons being cross'd in their Designs of bringing in *Military Tribunes*, bestir'd themselves so much, as to get three of the *Quæstors* created out of their own Rank, which were the first *Plebeian Quæstors*, that ever were in Rome. The *Æqui* and the *Volsci*, strengthn'd by Confederacies, made great Ravages

Quæstors
increas'd

U. C.

333.

Dic. xl.

U. C.

335.

Quæst. Pleb.

U. C.

344.

Dic. xii.

U. C.

345.

in the *Roman Dominions*; and the Commons refusing to Lift themselves after their old way, procur'd *Military Tribunes* again, who march'd against the Enemy, but with so little Success, that a *Dictator* was thought necessary to be created. This was *Cornelius Cossus* formerly mention'd, who appointed *Servilius Ahala* for his *Master of the Horse*, and march'd against the Enemy, overthrew 'em in one Battel, wasted their Country, and then return'd. Two Years after, the *Patritians* and *Plebeians* were somewhat reconcil'd by means of the great Plunder of *Anxur* or *Terricina*, taken from the *Volscei*; but especially by a Decree of the Senate for the Publick Pay of the Army with Brass Money, before which time every Soldier bore his own Charges in the War, as was hinted formerly; and this was the first time of the paying of Soldiers in *Rome*, which hapned in the 347th Year of the City. The taking of the *Anxur*, and some other Places from the *Volscei*, in a short time brought 'em to a Peace; and now the *Roman Dominions* were considerably increas'd.

U. C.

347.

III. About the same time, War was proclaim'd against the *Veientes* with that Resolution, and carri'd on with that Vigour, that it was evident that one of the two Cities must fall. *Veii* was an exceeding large strong and wealthy City, and had not only been a Rival to *Rome* for many Years, but had always been so perfidious, that a full Revenge was necessary. The *Romans* invested the City, but it being seated upon a craggy Rock, they soon found it wou'd cost 'em several years Siege; so that they were constrain'd to carry it on both *Winter* and *Summer*, the Soldiers lying under Beast-skins. At this the *Tribunes* of the People began to repine, as a thing wholly new and dangerous; complaining likewise of the Payment of Soldiers as an Innovation, and a Trick to ruin the Commons. And the next Year, they got the Number

ber of the *Military Tribunes* to be increased from four to six, as it was first design'd, but still cou'd not get in one *Plebeian*; and this Number continu'd always for the future. New Stirrs daily arose, notwithstanding the great Diversion by War; sometimes upon the Account of the little Success against *Veii*, the *Tribunes* blaming the Commanders, and hindering the Taxes which had been laid upon the City ever since the Soldiers had receiv'd Pay. About six Years after, they renew'd the old Quarrel about the *Agrarian Law*, and carri'd it on so far as to get it promulg'd among themselves, tho not in the Senate: And in the same Year, after much Trouble and Pains, they procur'd one *Plebeian* to be elected into the *Consular Tribunes*, *Licinius Calvus* being the Man. They extremely applauded themselves for this, it being the first time that the Commons cou'd get to be Sharers in the highest Offices; and now they most readily permitted the Pay of the Army to be gather'd, all Stirrs being for a while laid aside.

The Siege of *Veii* still went on from year to year, but with various Success, and under divers Commanders; sometimes all the Besieger's Works were destroy'd, and the Men beaten back with great Loss by Sallies from the Town: Then the *Falisci*, one of the twelve Nations of *Hetruria*, join'd with the *Veientes*, and very much annoy'd the *Romans*; sometimes to the great hazard of their whole Army. Besides, the *Roman* Forces were much diverted by the *Volsci*, who suddenly took *Anxur*; and tho in no long time it was retaken, yet still it was a great hinderance to the Siege of *Veii*. In the third Year of this Siege, *Furius Camillus*, a Person extraordinary for Courage and Valour, as well as other Excellencies, was made one of the *Censors*. He finding the Wars lay heavy, caus'd the Batchellors to Marry the Widows of such as had lost their Lives for their Country; and likewise was the first, who oblig'd Orphans

Mil. Tribunes encreas'd.
U. C.

348.

Mil. Trib. Plub.
U. C.

353.

to pay Taxes. Two Years after, he was made one of the *Military Tribunes*, but little fell to his Share then. Three Years after that, which was the eighth Year of the Siege, he was a second time made *Military Tribune*, in which time he fell upon the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, both Confederates of the *Veientes*, and great Disturbers of the *Romans* in the Siege, and forc'd them all into their Towns of Defence.

Dic. xiii.

U. C.

357.

The Tedioufness of the Siege, made the *Romans* resolve to carry it on with the utmost Vigour; and for that reason they created *Camillus Dictator*, and he appointed *Cornelius Scipio* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Camillus* drew out all the Forces he cou'd raise, and made a solemn Vow, that if he took *Veii*, he wou'd dedicate the tenth Part of the Plunder to *Apollo*: Then marching into the Country of the *Falisci*, he overthrew 'em in a great Battel, together with the *Capenates* their Confederates; and after that, he turn'd all his Forces against *Veii*, all People greatly expecting the Event of this important Siege. *Camillus* finding it very hazardous to attempt the storming a Place of that Strength both by Art and Nature, secretly wrought a Mine into it with vast Labour; and finding the City as good as taken, sent to the Senate, who order'd all who had a mind to share in the rich Spoils, immediately to repair to the Army, which caus'd great Multitudes of all sorts to go thither. *Camillus* at a set time order'd a Party of Men to enter the Mine, who with ease became Masters of the City, to the great Amazement of the Besieged. Thus was the rich City of *Veii* taken, like a second *Troy*, after ten years Siege, which enrich'd the *Romans* with vast Plunder. As for *Camillus* himself, he transported with the Honour of subduing the great Rival of *Rome*, triumph'd after a more magnificent Manner than ordinary, having his Chariot drawn by four Milk-white Steeds; a thing which the *Ro-*

mans

mans look'd upon as Sacred and Peculiar to the King and Father of the Gods, and therefore they were much offended at his Carriage: And indeed no Man either before or since him ever assum'd so much Honour to himself.

Soon after the taking of *Veii*, the *Tribunes* of the People, who were ever restless, propos'd a Law to divide the *Senate* and *People* into two Parts, whereof one should stay at *Rome*, and the other remove to *Veii*, and there settle; this Parting, as they thought, being a ready means for the enriching of both by the Possession of two such considerable Cities. The *Plebeians*, now Rich as well as Numerous, press'd hard for this Division; but the *Patritians* judging it wou'd prove the Ruin of the State, earnestly oppos'd it, betaking themselves to *Camillus*, who by prudently employing and diverting the Multitude many ways, made a shift to put it off, but with the Hatred of many of the Commons. But not long after, there hapn'd a greater and more apparent Cause of their Hatred to him, occasion'd by his neglecting, either through Business or Forgetfulness, all the while he continu'd *Dictator*, to offer those Tenth's of the Spoils of *Veii*, which at the beginning of his Expedition he had vow'd to *Apollo*. When therefore he had laid down his Office, he mov'd the People to restore the Tenth's of what they had receiv'd; and the Priests also reported that all the Sacrifices portended the Anger of the Gods, which must be appeas'd by Gifts. So that the Soldiers, who had already spent what they had got upon their necessary Occasions, were forc'd upon Oath to restore the tenth Part to *Apollo*, which was look'd upon as very hard, and caus'd great Murmurings among the People. Now, because there was little Gold in the City, the Ladies freely contributed their Dresses and Ornaments, which amounted to eight Talents in Gold. And the Senate in requital of this

generous Act, decreed that Women shou'd for the future have the Priviledge and Honour of Funeral Orations, which before had never been allow'd 'em.

U C.
360.

The Commons still grew more Turbulent and Uneasy, and moving again for a Separation, the War with the *Falisci* happily fell out to divert them; for which *Camillus* was made *Military Tribune* a third time. He soon invested *Falerii*, the chief City, a large and strong Place, 25 Miles almost North-West of *Rome*, where the School-Master of the Town drew out his Boys into the *Roman* Trenches, and offer'd him to betray the Town, by delivering up the Sons of the Nobility and Magistrates. *Camillus's* noble Spirit wou'd not suffer him to listen to such Baseness, but out of a Greatness of mind, he immediately order'd the School-Master to be stripp'd, his Hands t'ld behind him, and in that ignominious Manner to be whipp'd into the Town by his own Boys. The Magistrates were so affected with the great Generosity of the *Roman*, that they immediately yielded; and the Senate leaving the Conditions to *Camillus*, he only fin'd them a Sum of Money, and receiv'd 'em with all the *Falisci* into Friendship. But the Soldiers who expected great Plunder, were extreamly disgusted, and from that time forward, sought his Ruin. This same Year, the Senate by much trouble procur'd *Consuls* to be chosen, instead of *Military Tribunes*, after an Intermission of 15 Years. And the Year following, *Consuls* also were chosen again; but in the third Year, *Military Tribunes*, in which time the *Tribunes* of the People mov'd again for a Separation, but were so briskly oppos'd by *Camillus*, that in Revenge they accus'd him of fraudulent Practices in the Plunder of the late Wars. *Camillus* finding the Multitude exasperated against him for several Reasons, and that they were now ready to condemn him, left the City; but first

lifting

lifting up his Hands towards the Capitol, he pray'd, That if his Banishment were unjust, and meerly the effect of the Rage and Malice of the Multitude, they might suddenly repent it; and that it might visibly appear to the World, how much the Romans were oblig'd by his Actions, and stood in need of his Presence. Thus like Achilles, leaving his Imprecations on the Citizens, he went into Banishment, being fin'd 15000 Asses.

IV. About this time, many thousands of the Gauls finding their own Country too narrow for them, and desirous of removing, under the Conduct of Brennus their King, broke into *Hetruria*, and invested *Clusium*, a City in Alliance with Rome. These were the *Galli Senones*, a very numerous and warlike People inhabiting most of that Part of Italy, which now goes by the Name of *Lombardy*, and which the *Hetrurians* had been Masters of before them; a People vast in Body, rude by Nature, barbarous in Conditions, and wandering as Rovers over many Countries. The Inhabitants of *Clusium*, much affrighted at their great Numbers, and dreadful Looks, sent immediately to Rome, begging that State to interpose by sending Ambassadors and Letters to dissuade these unjust Aggressors from proceeding in their Enterprize. The Senate willing to perform this friendly Part, dispatch'd Ambassadors to the Gauls, chusing out three of the Family of the *Fabii*, Persons of the greatest Quality, and the most Honourable in the City, for that Office. The Gauls at first receiv'd 'em courteously enough; and coming to a Conference with 'em, the Ambassadors demanded the Reason of this their present Undertaking, and what Injury the *Clusians* had done them: Brennus made answer somewhat sharply, That they had much injur'd 'em by refusing to part with some of their Lands, when they had more than they themselves

U. C.
363.

could easily manage; and this was nothing more than what the Romans themselves had done to the Albans, the Fidenates, the Ardeates, the Veientes, and many other People that they made War with. These Reflections so enrag'd the Ambassadors, that they immediately stir'd up the Inhabitants to make a Sally against the Besiegers, they themselves heading 'em. It happen'd, that in the midst of the Fight, *Fabius Ambustus*, one of the Three, kill'd a Gaul of huge Bulk, and was discover'd while he was disarming of him; whereupon *Brennus* mov'd with a just Indignation, immediately broke up the Siege, and march'd directly for Rome.

Brennus, that he might not seem to do any thing meanly or unjustly, sent first to Rome, demanding the Ambassadors to be deliver'd up, as having broken the Law of Nations. But Favour so far prevail'd above Equity, that the Matter being referr'd from the Senate to the People, no Satisfaction cou'd be had from either: Nay, further, the Ambassadors themselves, were with three others created *Military Tribunes* for carrying on the War. The Gauls hearing this, in a great Rage hastned their March, breathing out nothing but Revenge and Destruction to Rome. The Places through which they march'd, were so terrifi'd with their Numbers, the fierceness of their Natures, and their dreadful Preparations of War, that they gave their Countries for lost. But contrary to their Expectations, they did no Injury as they march'd, crying, *That the Romans only were their Enemies, and that they took all others for their Friends.* The Romans met 'em at the River *Allia*, 11 Miles from the City, with an Army of 40000 Foot, but most of 'em raw Men, and what was more dangerous, under the Conduct of several Commanders. In this Condition they engag'd the Gauls, without either Order or Discipline, or scarce any Courage, and were miserably defeated. The left Wing was immediately

immediately driven into the River, and there quite cut off: The Right escap'd better, tho with great Loss, some dropping into *Rome*; the rest, as many as escap'd, stole by Night to *Veii*, giving *Rome* for lost, and all that was in it for ruin'd. This Day was ever after branded for an unlucky Day, by the *Romans*, and was call'd *Alliensis* in their *Kalendar*.

Never was *Rome* in the Like Consternation, as at the News of the loss of this Battel, and the sudden Approach of the Enemy: Nothing but miserable Howlings and Lamentations were heard on all Sides, some leaving the City, others creeping into Holes, Priests hiding their Relicks, Women running like distracted Persons with their Children in their Arms, and every one shifting for himself; so that *Rome* became abandon'd, and was left open to the Rage and Fury of the Enemy. For they who resolv'd to stay at *Rome*, quitting the rest of the City, betook themselves to the *Capitol*, which they fortifi'd, in order to hold out a Siege. Only some of the *Pontifices* and *Priests*, and the most ancient of the *Senators*, such as had been honour'd with several Consulships and Triumphs, who cou'd not endure to think of leaving the City, put on all their Robes of State, plac'd themselves in the *Forum* on their Ivory Chairs, resolving since they had liv'd in Honour, to die in State, and in that noble Posture expected the utmost of what wou'd follow.

On the third Day after the Victory, the Easiness of which much amaz'd the *Gauls*, *Brennus* appear'd with all his Forces before the City, and finding the Gates wide open, the Walls unguarded, and all Things defenceless, began to suspect at first some Stratagem of the *Romans*; but after a little Consideration, he enter'd the City, and marching into the *Forum*, he was more Surpriz'd than ever, to find so many Men sitting all in that remarkable Order and profound Silence, like so many Statues. Their splendid
Habits

Habits and Ornaments, their stiddy Unconcern'dness, their Majestick Gravity, their venerable Looks, together with that Air of Greatness which appear'd in 'em, made the *Gauls* imagine 'em to be an Assembly of the Gods, or at least somewhat more than Human, till one Bolder than the rest stroaking *Papirius's* Beard, was struck by him with his Staff, whereupon he immediately kill'd the old Man. Now began the Slaughter, the rest of the *Gauls* following his Example, set upon the rest, and kill'd 'em all without Mercy; and continuing their Rage and Fury, dispatch'd all that came in their Way. In this Manner they went on Sacking and Plundering the Houses for many days together, then setting the whole City in Flames, burnt down every House to the Ground.

Thus was the famous *Rome* laid all in Ashes, except the *Capitol*, 364 Years after it was first Built, 119 after the Expulsion of the Kings, *Anno Mundi* 3615, in the third Year of the 97th *Olympiad*, 60 Years before the Ruin of the *Persian* Empire, and the setting up of the *Macedonian* by *Alexander* the Great, and 388 before our Saviour *Christ*.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

From the Burning of Rome by the Gauls, to the War with the Samnites ; when the Romans began much to extend their Conquests.

Containing the Space of 46 Years.

I. **R**ome now felt the utmost Afflictions, and Severities of Fire and Sword, and was the true Scene of all kind of Misery and Desolation ; the Town deserted by its Inhabitants, and all its stately Buildings a heap of Rubbish ; no hopes being left but in the *Capitol*, which was now closely besieg'd by the *Gauls*, and in the Banish'd *Camillus*, whose Presence was now heartily wish'd for : while the *Gauls* lay before the *Capitol*, they sent out many Parties to Forage in all the Country about, who ravag'd and destroy'd all the Towns and Villages they came nigh ; and that with the greatest Carelessness, and Security imaginable, conceiving no sort of Opposition, or any manner of Danger. But the greatest and best order'd Body of their Forces approaching *Ardea*, *Camillus*, who had liv'd there a retir'd Life, began to rouse himself from the sullen Resentments of his Wrongs, to the moving Considerations of the Miseries of his Country ; and by an encouraging Speech perswaded all the *Ardeans*, that were able to bear Arms, to fall upon the Enemy in the Night-time ; which was done so effectually, that scarce any were left to carry the News of the Defeat. The Fame of this Victory began to revive the fainting Spirits of the *Romans*, who now found that these terrible People were not invulnerable ; and the

U. C. 364
Romans

Romans who lay at *Veii*, now finding *Camillius's* Readiness, immediately sent to him to be their General; desiring him to forget all former Injuries, and succour his distressed Country. He objected his banish'd Condition, and refus'd to Act, unless by Commission from those in the *Capitol*; whom he consider'd as the true Body of the surviving *Roman* State. This modest Answer was extremely well taken, but they cou'd not imagine how to send to the *Capitol*, while the Enemy was in full Possession of the City.

But for the Undertaking this desperate Attempt, one *Pontius Cominius* offer'd his Service, which being kindly accepted of, he thus performed; putting on a poor Garment, carrying Corks underneath, he went for *Rome*, and arriv'd at the City when it was dark: The Bridge he cou'd not pass by reason of the Guards, but taking his Cloaths and binding 'em about his Head, he swam down the *Tiber* upon his Corks; and avoiding those Quarters, where he perceiv'd the Enemy to be awake, which he guess'd at by the Lights and Noise, he got into the City, and from thence to the *Capitol*, climbing up in the steepest Place with great Danger and Difficulty. The Besieged were much surpriz'd at the Attempt, and presently giving him his Instructions, sent him back the same Way he came, and this part of his Expedition he performed with the same good Success that he had done the other, and upon his Return delivered to *Camillus* an Order of the Senate to make him *Dictator*. *Camillus* chose *Valerius Potitus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and getting together an Army of above 40000 Men, he prepar'd to go against the Enemy. In the mean while, at *Rome* some of the *Gauls* hapned to discover some Foot-steps and Prints made by *Pontius* at his climbing the Hill, which being privately told to *Brennus* their King, he order'd a good Party of Men in the dead of Night to climb up the same Way, and take the

Capitol

Dic. xiv.

U. C.

364.

Capitol by Surprise. These Men perform'd their Office with great Difficulty, and much time, not any of the Dogs appointed for the Watch perceiving it; nevertheless it so hapned that some Sacred Geese which were kept by the Temple of *Juno*, by their Gaggling and Clapping their Wings, discover'd them. The *Romans* every one snatching what Weapon he cou'd, did their best on this sudden Occasion; and *Manlius*, a *Patritian* of great Courage, was the first that made Head against 'em; boldly mounting the Rampier, and presently tumbling down two of the Enemy at once. Others soon came in to his Assistance, and drove down all the rest, not a Man escaping; and the next Morning the Captain of the Watch was thrown Headlong down the Rock, and *Manlius* rewarded as well as Circumstances wou'd permit.

Henceforwards the Affairs of the *Gauls* were in a worse Condition, first wanting Provisions, then infected with the Plague, which rag'd much among em; but still the Besieged cou'd have no Relief, being reduc'd to a languishing and desponding Condition for want of Provisions and Necessaries. So that after a seven Months Siege, they were forc'd to Capitulate, and it was agreed, *That the Romans paying down 1000 Pound weight of Gold, the Gauls shou'd immediately quit the City and Territories.* This Agreement being confirm'd by Oath, and the Gold brought forth, the *Gauls* out of Covetousness us'd false Dealings in the weighing, pulling back the Ballance as they thought fit; at which the *Romans* complaining, *Brennus* cast in his Sword and Belt into the Scales, scoffingly crying, *Vae victis*, *Woe to the Vanquish'd*, which afterwards became a Proverb. Whilst this Difference lasted, *Camillus* was arriv'd with his Army, and hastning with a choice Party of Men to the Place where the Gold was a weighing, he came and took it out of the Scales, telling the *Gauls*, *That it was the Custom of the Romans to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold:* Therefore

fore he null'd the Compact, because made without his Consent, who alone, as being then their *Dictator*, had the sole Power of making Peace. Upon this therefore a Fight immediately ensu'd, where, after a most bloody Contest, the *Gauls* were intirely routed, and such great Execution done upon 'em in the pursuit, that all the *Roman* Territories were in a little time clear'd of 'em. Thus was *Rome* unexpectedly taken, and in seven Months, as unexpectedly recover'd; *Camillus* for his excellent Services having a noble Triumph, and being now look'd upon as their second *Romulus*.

U. C.
365.

II. After this War was finish'd, the *Tribunes* of the People began to urge afresh for the removing to *Vei*, which caused the Senate to procure *Camillus* to hold his Office of *Dictator* for a whole Year, which was six Months longer than the usual time. *Camillus* with kind Words and gentle Language appeas'd the Multitude, shewing 'em, *How unworthy and dishonourable a Thing it wou'd be for 'em to forsake the venerable Seat of their Ancestors, and all their Sacred Rites, which were appropriated to this Place, to inhabit a conquer'd and inflam'd City.* Upon this therefore *Rome* was order'd to be rebuilt with all Diligence, and all hands were set on Work; but it was carri'd on with that Haste and Hurry, that the City wanted much of its former Beauty and Regularity; and the Water-courses formerly laid in the Streets, now ran for the most part under private Houses. When *Camillus's* second six Months were out, *Military Tribunes* were chosen; and in the same Year the *Aequi*, *Volsci* and *Hetrurians* all took up Arms and invaded the *Roman* Territories. The *Military Tribunes* were soon block'd up by the Enemy, and were brought to such Straits, that the Senate made *Camillus* *Dictator* a third time, and he chose *Servilius Ahala* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Camillus* overthrew both *Aequi* and *Hetrurians*, and forc'd the *Volsci* to yield themselves,

Dic. xv.
U. C.
366.

selves, after the War had continu'd for seventy Years;
 for all which he had a third Triumph. Three Years
 after this, *Camillus* being *Military Tribune*, over-
 came them again, together with the *Hernici* and *La-*
times, the latter of which till now had been faithful
 ever since the Battel at the *Rhegillan* Lake above a
 hundred Year before: And from the *Hetrurians* he re-
 cover'd two Towns, which they had taken from the
 Allies of *Rome*. The Year following four Tribes were
 added; Namely the *Stellatine*, the *Normentine*, the *Sab-*
batine, and the *Arnian*; which now made the whole
 Number twenty five.

Tribes en-
creas'd
 a third
 time.
 U. C.
 369.

About this time *Manlius*, who for his great Services
 in saving the *Capitol* had now got the Sirname of *Ca-*
pitolinus, began to grow very haughty and ambitious;
 and by his ingratiating himself with the common
 Sort, his paying their Debts, and his railing at the
 great Ones, it was apparent that Sovereignty was his
 Aim. The Numbers that he got on his side, toge-
 ther with the War renewed with the *Volscei*, made the
 Senate procure a Dictator to be Created; which was
Cornelius Cossus, who made Choice of *Quintius Capito-*
linus for his Master of the Horse. *Cossus* soon invested
 the Enemies, and returning home in Triumph, call'd
Manlius to an Account, and put him in Prison. But
 the Multitude sore afflicted at this, put on Mourn-
 ing Garments, and made such dangerous Disturban-
 ces, that after some time he was set at Liberty, and
 soon after *Cossus* laid down his Office. But *Manlius*
 growing more insolent, holding private Cabals, and
 filling the whole City with Faction and Sedition, the
 Senate remitted his Business to the Care of the *Mili-*
tary Tribunes, whereof *Camillus* was one, and a Day
 was set him to Answer for his Life. The Place of
 his Tryal was right over against the *Capitol*, where
 when he was accus'd, he often pointed to it, and
 with weeping Eyes let the People know, what a No-
 ble piece of Service he had done there. This mov'd
 the

Dic. xvi.
 U. C.
 369.

the Multitude to such Pity and Compassion, that *Camillus* caus'd the Judges to remove him without the Gate to the *Peteline* Grove; where having no View of the *Capitol*, he was Condem'd to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock, the Place both of his highest Honour and greatest Infamy: And it was decreed that none of the *Manlii* afterwards shou'd be call'd *Marcus*.

U. C.

372.

About three Years after, *Camillus* was chosen *Military Tribune* a sixth time, tho much against his Will, and march'd against the *Volsci*; where *Lucius* his Colleague, eager to engage the Enemy when *Camillus* judg'd it dangerous, was permitted to Fight alone, *Camillus* being left weak in his Bed. *Lucius* was soon worsted, and his Army almost routed, when *Camillus* rousing himself, was presently help'd up on Horseback; where making his Way through them that fled, he drove furiously to oppose the Pursuers; which Boldness so encourag'd the Soldiers, that they all rally'd again, resolving never to forsake a General so famous for his Actions, and so venerable for Age: By this the Enemy were soon stopp'd, and the next day intirely routed, losing Bag and Baggage, and the greatest part of their Men. The Year following, great Stirs were made in the City about the Creditors and Debtors, which gave an occasion to the Inhabitants of *Prænestæ*, a Town of *Latium*, with its Dependents, to make Incursions and Ravages to the Walls of *Rome*, to the great Danger and Damage of the City. This and the Troubles at home, made the Senate create a *Dictator*, which was *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, who appointed *Sempronius Arratinus* for his *Master of the Horse*; and he was so Successful against them, that he overthrew 'em, took the eight Towns that were their Dependents, by Storm, and *Prænestæ* it self by Surrender. Then returning in Triumph with the Statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which he put into the *Capitol*, he laid down his Office, after keeping of it but twenty days.

Dic. xvii.

U. C.

373.

Two

Two Years after this, a terrible Contest hapned U. C. 275. between the *Patritians* and *Tribunes* of the People, occasion'd by *Fabius Ambustus* a *Tribune*, who had Marri'd one Daughter to a *Patritian*, and the other to a *Plebeian*: The latter being very much concern'd at her Husband's want of equal Honour, *Fabius* told her, That he wou'd so order Matters, that her House shou'd shortly be of the same Dignity as her Sisters. From that time therefore he consulted with *Licinius Stolo* her Husband, and *L. Sestius*, about preferring a Law for making one *Consul* out of the Commons. These two being made *Tribunes* of the People, labour'd so violently about this Law, and things were carri'd with such wonderful Heats and Animosities on both sides, that from the Year 277 to 282, which was five Years, no Supream Magistrates were chosen at all, nor any other but *Tribunes* and *Ediles*, who kept their Places all that time. And all this Space there was little better than *Anarchy* and Confusion in *Rome*, till the Year 282, they procur'd Military *Tribunes* to be chosen; but still the Contests were kept up on both sides; when two Years after, *Camillus* was made *Dictator* a Dic. xviii fourth time, but much against the Will of the People. U. C. He chose *Aimilius Mermecinus* for his Master of the 284. Horse, and with much Difficulty brought both Parties to a better Temper; but finding the Multitude so very stubborn and resolute in their Designs, withal threatening to Fine him if he compli'd not, he soon laid down his Office. Upon this another *Dictator* was immediately created, which was one *Manlius Capitolinus*, who chose *Licinius Stolo* for his Master of the Dic. xix Horse, and he was the first *Plebeian* that ever obtain'd U. C. this Honour. *Stolo*, who had been the great Occa- 285. sion of these Disturbances, now took an Occasion to prefer a Law that no Man shou'd possess above 500 Acres of Land, which was very disadvantageous to the *Patritians*, and more to himself; for soon after, he was found to have above

that Proportion, and so was punish'd by Vertue of his own Constitution.

III. In the midst of these violent Contentions about the *Consul-ship*, News was brought to *Rome*, that many thousands of the *Gauls* were marching from the *Adriatick Sea* towards *Rome*. This put the City into a great Fright, and all began to lay aside all private Differences, and to think of nothing but of the common Safety ; for they fear'd the *Gauls* so much, that a Law was made, *That Priests shou'd be excus'd from all Wars, unless in an Invasion from the Gauls*: All Unanimously agreed to make *Camillus Dictator* a fifth time, now near 80 Years old, who refus'd not the Employment in this dangerous Juncture, but presently chose *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his Master of the Horse. *Camillus* consider'd that the force of the *Gauls* lay chiefly in their Swords, with which they laid about 'em in a rude and unskilful Manner : Therefore he furnish'd his Men with light Iron Helmets, and bound their wooden Targets about with Brass, teaching them how to fence and receive the Enemies blows without Hurt. By this means he render'd the Swords of the *Gauls* so unserviceable, that giving 'em Battel at the *River Aniene*, he easily overthrew 'em, which hapned 23 Years after they had destroy'd the City ; and after this Defeat the *Romans* began now to despise the *Gauls* as much as they had fear'd 'em before. Soon after this *Camillus* in his Return homewards had *Velutæ* surrender'd to him without any Resistance.

But *Camillus's* greatest Contention, and which was hardest to be manag'd, was with the People, who now returning home full of Victory and Success, violently insisted again to have one of the *Consuls* chosen out out of their own Body. The Senate strongly oppos'd it, and wou'd not suffer *Camillus* to lay down his *Dictator-ship*, thinking that under the Shelter of his great Name and Authority, they shou'd be the better able
to

to contend for the Power of the Nobility. But when *Camillus* was sitting upon the Tribunal, dispatching publick Affairs, an Officer sent by the *Tribunes* of the People commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his Hand upon him as ready to seize him: Upon which such a Noise and Tumult follow'd in the Assembly, that the like was never hear'd of before: Some that were about *Camillus* thrusting the People from the Bench, and the Multitude below Crying out, *Pull him down, pull him down!* Still he wou'd not lay down his Office, but taking the Senators along with him, he went to the Senate-House; where great Contests arose, by reason of contrary Opinions; but at last the most Popular Party prevail'd, and a Law was made, *That one of the Consuls for the future might be chosen out of the Plebeians*; and this hapned 143 Years after their first Creation, and 24 after the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. From this time forwards the *Military Tribunes* were for ever laid aside, now 78 Years since their first Creation, after 49 Courses of that Office, and 15 from the *Consul-ship* to that, and from that to the *Consul-ship*. Now the People were reconcil'd to the Senate, and a Temple was presently built and Dedicated to *Concord*, according as *Camillus* had vow'd; and the *Patritians* desiring a *Prætor* to be created out of their Body for the Administration of Justice in the City, it was immediately Granted 'em.

This *Prætor* was a Magistrate of very great Note, so call'd a *Prætor*, a Name which the *Consuls* themselves had for some time. The Power and Authority of this Magistrate was very great, for he executed the Office of the *Consuls* in their Absence, both in the Senate and in the *Comitia*. But the principal Business of these *Prætors* was to Administer Justice in the City or Provinces which the *Consuls* cou'd not so easily attend to; and upon that account they may be English'd, Lord Chief Justices. They judg'd all Causes both Civil and Criminal, which last were call'd *Capitales*;

U. C.
388.
Consul
Pleb. Milit.
tary Tribunes put
down.

Prætor

pitales; in Civil Causes they were cloth'd in Purple; but when they pass'd Sentence in Criminal Causes, they were in Mourning. Upon the account of their Power and Honour, and likewise because they were created by the same *Auspicia* with the *Consuls*, *Livy* calls them *Collegues of the Consuls*. Their Ornaments and *Ensigns* were six *Lictors* with their *Fasces*, the *Toga Prætexta*, and *Sella Curulis*; and besides those Marks of Consular Dignity, the *Sword* and *Spear*, plac'd by them in the Court. Their Officers in Court, besides the *Lictors*, were the *Scribes* or *Notaries*, to enter things in Writing, and the *Accensi* or *Bailiffs*, who Summon'd the People together. At first there was but one *Prætor*, and that for above 100 Years; then another was Created, who administred Justice to Strangers; whereupon for Distinction sake the first was call'd *Prætor Urbanus*, or *Major*, and the latter *Peregrinus*, or *Minor*. But as the Business and Dominions of *Rome* increased, the Number of these *Prætors* was likewise enlarg'd, and went on gradually, till in *Augustus's* Reign they came to Sixteen.

Immediately after the Reconciliation between the Nobility and Commons, a 4th Day was added to the *Latine Ferie*, and the greater sort of Games were Solemniz'd, which when the *Ædiles* of the Commons were unwilling to manage according to their Office, the young *Patritians* offer'd themselves, and the Senate procur'd also of the People, that two *Patritians* every Year might be made *Ædiles*, who from the Ivory Chair call'd *Cella Curulis*, had the Name of *Ædiles Curules*. These were Created 128 Years after the *Ædiles* of the Commons, but were of greater Account, as being *Curule Magistrates*, their Chair being so call'd either from *Currus*, the *Chariot* which carri'd it and Magistrate about, or from *Curvus*, because it was made with *Crooked Feet*. They had all the same Offices and Business as the *Ædiles* of the Commons, but had rather greater Authority; but more especially they took Care of the great

Ædiles Curules.

great and publick Games, such as the *Ludi Florales*, *Circenses*, *Megalenses*, *Romani*, &c. as also of *Tragedy* and *Comedys*. Sometimes at their own Charge they made these Shews, and ever examin'd the Fables written before they were Acted; and (whether from this Inspection of all Plays and the like, it is uncertain) they seem to have been the *Licensers* and Judges of other Writings. It is further observ'd, that the Generals of Armies when return'd home from Victory, deliver'd up the Corn and Provisions which were Prize to these *Ediles Curules*, as they did the Prisoners to the *Prætor*, and the Money to the *Quæstor*. Thus were the Disturbances of *Rome* allaid, and all things for a little while in Peace and Quiet.

IV. Soon after these Things, News came of the *U. C.* *Gauls* meeting together, who had before been dispers'd 389. through *Apulia*, and of the intended Revolt of the *Hernici*: But all Preparations were deferred by the Senate, because they were unwilling to have any thing done by a *Plebeian* Consul. On the other side the *Tribunes* began to complain, that for one *Plebeian* Consul, the Nobility had got three *Patritian* Magistrates, who sat as Consuls in their *Curule* Chairs, and their *Prætexta*. Modesty therefore suffer'd not the Fathers to Create both the *Curule Ediles* out of their own Body; so that it was agreed first that every other Year they shou'd be chosen out of the Commons; but afterwards they were Elected promiscuously. The Year following there hapned a grievous Plague in the City, which swept away vast Numbers, among the rest *Camillus* himself, after he had done so many Noble Services for the City, that he was deservedly called the second Founder of *Rome*. The Plague raging both in this, and the following Year, the *Romans* to appease their Gods brought in Stage-Plays; sending for Actors out of *Hetruria*, in the Language of which Country *Hister* signifying a Player, *U. C.* thence came the *Roman* word *Histrion*. These Plays 391. were at first very Barbarous and Antick, beginning with

with a plain Country Dance to a Pipe; after which the young Men, who Jok'd upon each other, began to utter themselves in a Company of Artless Verses, call'd *Versus Fescennini*, from *Fescenninum* a City of *Hetruria*: This was about 40 Years after the Deaths of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* in *Greece*. Still the Plague continu'd, which with the overflowing of *Tiber*, made the *Romans* think of some other Ways; and some of the elder People reporting, That a Pestilence was formerly assawg'd by the Dictator's driving of a Nail; the Senate immediately created a Dictator, which was *Manlius Capitolinus*, who appointed *Pinarus Natta* for his Master of the Horse. This Nail with a great deal of Ceremony and Superstition, was driven on the right side of *Jupiters* Temple in the *Capitol*, just by that of *Minerva*, and this was the first Dictator created upon this Account.

Dic. xxi.
U. C.
391.

The Year following, the Ground cleaving asunder in the *Forum* to a vast Depth, *M. Curtius* a brave young Soldier, is said to have rode into this Gulph, Arm'd, and with great Solemnity, and so being swallow'd up, purchas'd the Deliverance of his Country, according to the Declaration of their Gods. The same Year the *Hernici* being up in Arms against *Rome*, *Genucius* the *Plebeian* Consul marching against 'em, was slain, and his Army routed; which threatening Danger made the Senate create a Dictator, which was *Claudius Crassinus*, who made *Cornelius Scipio* his Master of the Horse, and got so much Advantage over the Enemy as to obtain an Ovation. Within a Year after, the *Gauls* had got together in great Numbers, and had march'd within three miles of *Rome*, which put the City into such a Fright, that according to their usual Way, in such Cases they created a Dicta-

Dic. xxii.
U. C.
392.

tor; and this was *Quintus Pennus*, who had *Cornelius Maluginensis* for his Master of the Horse. The Armies being drawn up on both sides, a *Gaul* of huge Bulk and Stature challeng'd any of the *Romans* to meet him in a single Combat; which Challenge was accepted of by *T. Manlius* a Courageous young Man, who with great

Dic. xxiii
U. C.
393.

Bravery

Bravery and Agility overthrew his mighty Foe, and slew him: Then taking a *Torques* or Golden Chain from his Neck, return'd, and was Honourably receiv'd by the *Dictator*; and from thence he and his Posterity had the Sirname of *Torquatus*. The *Gauls* were so discourag'd at this Action, that they fled by Night, and went into the *Tiburtines* Country, a People of *Larium*; and the *Dictator* return'd in Triumph.

The War with the *Tiburtines* and *Hernici* gave the *Gauls* Opportunity to do much Mischief to the *Roman* Territories, which occasion'd the Creation of another *Dictator*, which was *Servilius Ahala*, who chuse *Quintus* *Capitolinus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and soon quell'd the *Gauls*; but *Petileus* the Consul, who had been employ'd against the *Hernici*, hapned to come off with the greatest Honour. In a Year after Peace was made with *Latines*, which was advantageous enough to the *Romans*, by reason of their frequent Auxiliaries from them: But the Year following, the great Preparations of the *Gauls*, made the Senate create another *Dictator*, which was *Sulpicius Peticius*, who appointed *Valerius Poplicola* for his *Master of the Horse*, and marching against the Enemy got a great Victory over 'em. In this Year were two new Tribes added to the former five and twenty, Namely, the *Pompine* and the *Publican*. About two Years after this, the whole Body of the *Hetrurians* took up Arms against Rome, led on by the *Tarquinius* and *Falisci*; in which great time of Danger, *Marcus Rutilus* a *Plebeian*, was made *Dictator*, which was the first Commoner that ever obtain'd this Honour, it being now 143 Years since their first Creation. He appointed *Plantius Proculus* for his *Master of the Horse*, a *Plebeian* likewise; and tho' he was oppos'd by the *Patritians*, as much as they cou'd, yet he did great Service against the Enemy, and Triumph'd, but still against the Senates Consent. The *Patritians* were so enrag'd at this, that at the next Election they took away the *Consulship* from the Commons, after they had

Dic. xxiv

U. C.

394

Dic. xxv.

U. C.

396.

Tribes in

creas'd a

fourth

time.

Dic. Pleb.

xxvi.

U. C.

398.

enjoy'd it ten Years; and this hapned in the 399th Year of the City.

Dic.
xxvii.
U. C.
401.

This occasion'd many violent Heats and vast Disturbances between both Parties, for three Years together; when some of the *Hetrurians* press'd so hard upon the *Roman Territories*, that another *Dictator* was created, Namely, *Manlius Torquatus*, who made *Cornelius Cossus* his *Master of the Horse*; but the Enemy out of Fear was soon brought to a Peace, and so, little was done by him. Now the Contests and Quarrels at home were grown to that height, that the Senate was forc'd to give the Commons once more the Priviledge of the *Consulship*, four Years after they had taken it from 'em; and because Usury again was grown exceeding Burthen some to the poorer Sort, they appointed five Men to order the Payment of Debts out of the Treasury: So now all Differences were reconcil'd. Soon after this, a groundless Apprehension of the *Hetrurians*, who were reported to be all united against *Rome*, occasion'd the Creation of another *Dictator*, which was *C. Julius*, who made *L. Amelius* his *Master of the Horse*, but he had little to do, so he left all to the next Consuls, who hapned to be both *Patritians*. And they went against the *Tarquinii* and *Falisci*, who were not yet quieted, and brought 'em to a Peace for the Term of 40 Years.

Dic.
xxviii.
U. C.
402.

V. Now *Rome* was for a while at Peace abroad, and might have been longer so at home, had not *Marcus Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Dictator*, stood for the Office of *Censor*, and rais'd new Disturbances. The *Plebeians* urg'd it hotly, but the *Patritians* the better to oppose 'em, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created, which was *M. Fabius*, *Q. Servilius* being his *Master of the Horse*; but still this wou'd not do; for after many Contests, the *Plebeian* Faction prevail'd, and *Marcus* was made one of the *Censors*, which was the first *Plebeian Censor* in this City, it being 92 Years after their first Creation. The next Year, a considerable Victory was obtain'd over the *Gauls*,

Dic.
xxix.
U. C.
403.
Censor Pleb.

Gauls, who now grew troublesome again, and one of the Consuls being wounded, and the other sick, the Senate was forc'd to create a *Dictator* for assembling the *Comitia* for a new Election of Consuls, which was *Furius Camillus*, who made *Cornelius Scipio* his Master of the Horse. *Camillus* himself was chosen for one Consul, and the Death of his Colleague soon after, and the pressing Wars with the *Gauls*, made the Senate give him the sole Authority, so that he was almost the same with a *Dictator*. *Camillus* led a noble Army against the *Gauls*, and when they were in sight of each other, a *Gaul*, remarkable both for his Stature, and the Richness of his Arms, challenged any of the *Romans* to a single Combate. *M. Valerius*, a brisk young Collonel of the Foot met him, and in a little time slew him; but in the midst of the Combate a Crow came, and sitting upon *Valerius's* Head, with Beak and Wings assisting him in his Fight, whence he had the Sirname of *Corvinus*. This Combate brought both Armies to a Battel, and the *Gauls* were intirely routed. *Camillus* returning home, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created for the holding of the *Comitia* for a new Election of Consuls. This was *Manlius Torquatus*, his Master of the Horse being *Cornelius Cossus*; and in this *Comitia*, *Valerius Corvinus*, for his great Deserts, was made Consul at 23 years of Age, a thing indeed very extraordinary.

Dic. xxx.

U. C.

404.

Dic. xxxi

U. C.

405.

Now the Armies were disbanded, and there was both Peace abroad, and Concord at home for a little time. This Year a Colony was drawn out from the City *Antia* to People *Satricum*, which had been destroy'd by the *Latins*; and also at *Rome*, a League was concluded with the Ambassadors of *Carthage*, who came on purpose to desire Amity between both Nations, as *Livy* has it. Above three Years after, the *Arunci*, a People beyond the *Volsci*, and one of the six Nations of *Latium* in the largest extent, made a sudden Invasion upon the *Roman* Territories; and upon Suspicion that it was by the Instigation of the whole

Latin

Dic.
xxxii.
U. C.
408.

Latin Nation, *Furius Camillus* was created *Dictator*, as if all *Latium* had been up in Arms. He chose *Manlius Capitolinus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and march'd against the Enemy, whom he found more like Robbers than Soldiers, so that in the very first Battel they were subdu'd, and that War dispatch'd. A Year after, a Temple was dedicated to *Juno Moneta*, on the *Capitol Hill*, as the last *Dictator* had vow'd; and soon after, some Prodigies were observ'd, of which the *Romans* were so superstitiously fearful, that they created a *Dictator*, to constitute certain Feasts and Holy-days for the appeasing of the Gods, and diverting the Judgments threatned: *Valerius Poplicola* was the Man, and *Fabius Ambustus* his *Master of the Horse*. Order was given, that not only all the *Tribes* shou'd go in Procession with their solemn Prayers, but also the bordering Nations; with precise Directions, upon what Days each of 'em shou'd make their Supplications. This Year likewise, the Usurers were prosecuted by the *Ediles*, and severe Sentences given against them by the People.

Dic.
xxxiii.
U. C.
409.

These were the principal Wars and Actions of the *Romans* with their nearest Neighbours, which are observ'd to have been all Defensive, or at least, not begun without just Grounds and Provocations; yet these, which may well enough bare the name of Defensive Wars, still increas'd the *Roman Dominions*, which now contain'd as good as all Old *Latium*, and the greatest Part of the other five Nations afterwards comprehended under that Name, viz. the *Volsi*, *Aequi*, *Rutuli*, *Hernici*, and *Arunci*, together with most of *Sabina*, and a great Part of *Hetruria*: So that now their Dominions contain'd more than double the Extent of what they were at the Expulsion of the Kings. The last *Dictator* beforemention'd, was created a year before the Wars with the *Sammites*, which Wars began *A. M.* 3661. in the first Year of the 109th *Olympiad*, 410 Years since the Building of the City, 165 after the

the beginning of the *Consular State*, 46 since the Restoration of the City, 14 before the Ruin of the *Persian*, and the setting up the *Macedonian Empire* by *Alexander the Great*, and 342 before our Saviour *Christ*.

C H A P. VII.

From the Wars with the Samnites, to the Wars with Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, the first Foreigner they had to deal with; wherein the Romans began to learn the Arts of War.

Containing the Space of 63 Years.

I. **H**itherto the *Romans* had all their Wars just at *U. C.* home, and as it were at their Gates; but ^{410.} now daily gathering strength, and encreasing in Power, they ventur'd against the warlike *Samnites*, a People above 100 Miles East of *Rome*. These *Samnites* were a hardy Nation, descended from the *Sabines*, from whom they probably had their Name, and inhabited a considerable Part of that Side of *Italy*, which now goes by the Name of the Kingdom of *Naples*, having likewise seven other People as Dependents, namely, the *Picentes*, *Vestini*, *Marrucini*, *Frentini*, *Peligni*, *Marsi*, and *Hirpini*. The Cause of this War was the *Samnites* quarrelling with their Neighbours the *Sidicini*, who immediately betook themselves to the *Campanians* for Succour. These *Campanians* were a luxurious and effeminate People, inhabiting a delicious Country bordering on *Samnium*, and were so worsted, that they sent to *Rome* for Aid, their Ambassadors

ambassadors imploring it with Tears, and giving up both themselves and Country into the Hands of the *Romans*. The Senate at first was very unwilling to fall out with the *Samnites*, as being their Friends and Allies; but the importunate Cries and Prayers of the Ambassadors, and more especially the scornful Refusal of the *Samnites* to desist from falling on the Territories of *Capua* and *Campania*, so far prevail'd, as at last to make them undertake the War.

The Consuls, *Valerius* and *Cornelius*, began their Marches with two distinct Armies; one to *Capua*, and the other into *Samnium*. *Valerius* after a most bloody and obstinate Fight overthrew the Enemy in *Campania*, and became Master of their Camp. The *Romans* confess'd they never met with more resolute Enemies; and demanding of 'em, *What made 'em fly after so brave a Resistance?* They answer'd, *That the Eyes of the Romans appear'd to 'em like Flames of Fire, and their Looks so fierce and terrible, as not to be born with.* In *Samnium*, *Cornelius*, the other Consul, having unwarily led his Army too forward into a dangerous Place, *P. Decius*, a Tribune in the Army, boldly possess'd himself of a Hill above the Enemy, who much surpriz'd at the Attempt, turn'd their principal Force thither, and so gave Opportunity to the Consul to draw off his Men to a more convenient Place. Whereupon *Decius* with an undaunted Bravery, tho' besieg'd, brake through the Enemy, which more amaz'd 'em than ever, and the Consul at the same time falling on, so great a Victory was obtain'd, that 30000 of the *Samnites* were slain. Both the Consuls triumph'd over the *Samnites*, and *Decius* was highly honour'd by the Senate and People for his great Services.

Soon after this, Ambassadors from *Campania* requested to have Garisons from the *Romans* that Winter, in *Capua*, and other Places, to secure 'em from the

the Insults of the *Sammites*, which were accordingly sent. Many of the *Roman* Soldiers were so corrupted with the Delights and Pleasures of *Capua*, that they began to form a Design of destroying the Inhabitants, and taking the Town to themselves. This Design was communicated to many of their Companions in other Places, and well approv'd of, but it was soon discover'd to some of their Officers, who made several Removals to disperse 'em. But the Soldiers finding themselves like to be call'd to an Account, and perhaps severely punish'd; as soon as they cou'd, got themselves together, and daily encreasing their Numbers, march'd directly for *Rome* in a rebellious and hostile Manner. This piece of Boldness so surpriz'd the Senate, that they presently created a *Dictator*, *Dic.* which was *Valerius Corvinus*, one of the last Years xxxiv. Consuls, who appointed *Æmelius Mamercinus* for his U. C. Master of the Horse, and march'd against the Rebels, 411. who had now forc'd *T. Quintius* to be their General. Upon the Approach of both Armies, the Rebels out of Fear yielded themselves, and were receiv'd into Favour, the *Dictator* having no more to do. In the same Year, the frequent Inroads made by the *Romans* into the *Sammites* Country, drew 'em to a Peace, the *Sidicini* being left to their Mercy.

II. Soon after this Peace, the *Sammites* desir'd of the *Romans* that the *Latins* and *Campanians* might be commanded not to assist the *Sidicini*; but because the Senate wou'd not deny that these Nations were under their Command, and were likewise unwilling to provoke 'em, such an ambiguous Answer was return'd, that the *Latins* and *Campanians* thought themselves so far disoblig'd as to revolt. *Manlius Torquatus*, now Consul the third time, and his Colleague, *Decius Mus*, were sent by the Senate to chastise the *Latins*, who now wou'd be satisfi'd with nothing but to have one of the Consuls, and half the Senators chosen out of their Nations.

Nations. Upon certain Dreams and Prognostications, that the General on one side, and the Army on the other was certainly to be destroy'd; the Consuls agreed, That in what Part the *Roman* Army shou'd be distress'd, the Commander of that Part shou'd devote himself to the Gods, and dye for his Country; which generous Resolution was confirm'd by Oath; and because they were all acquainted with each others Discipline, and way of Fighting, strict Commands were given that no Man upon pain of Death shou'd Fight without Orders.

Both Armies were drawn up in Batalia, and a bloody and obstinate Engagement immediately follow'd; the *Latins* pressing very hard upon *Decius's* Part, he according to his promise devoted himself to the Gods, and rushing violently into the midst of his Enemies, after a great Slaughter lost his Life, the *Latins* being presently after quite overthrown. Nor was the Discipline of *Manlius* less resolute than the Courage of *Decius*, in relation to his own Son: For he, passing with his Troops, before the Battel, nigh the Enemy, was challeng'd by *Metius*, Captain of the *Tusculans*, whom when he had slain and stripp'd, his Father with Tears commended him for his Valour, but condemn'd him for his Disobedience; which tho a sad, was a profitable Example to the rest of his Men: And after that, cruel Commands were usually call'd *Manliana Dicta*. The *Latins* now defeated, begg'd Peace; which being given 'em, tho not with the same Conditions to all, *Manlius* return'd in Triumph, but was met only by the Old Men, the Young Ones refusing to do him that Honour, and ever after hating him upon the account of his Son. Soon after, the People of *Antium* and *Ardea* made Incurfions into the *Roman* Territories: But *Manlius* being Sick, he nam'd *Papyrius Crassus* for Dictator, who appointed *Papyrius Cursor* his Master of the Horse, and kept the Field some Months in the *Antiates* Country, but no remarkable Action hapned.

The

Dic.
xxxv.
U. C.
413.

The Consuls for the following Year, *Æmilius* and *Publius* overthrew the *Latins*, who had again revolted upon the account of some Lands taken from 'em. *Publius*, by whose Conduct the Victory was obtain'd, receiv'd into Alliance such Cities as had been worsted; and *Æmilius* march'd his Army and sat down before *Pedus*, which receiv'd Supplies from several Places. Tho he had the better in all Skirmishes, yet still the Town held out, and he understanding that his Colleague was return'd to his Triumph, he immediately left the Siege, and went for *Rome* to demand that Honour too. The Senate was much offended at this Presumption, denying him the Honour, except *Pedus* was either taken or surrender'd; which caus'd him out of Revenge to joyn with the *Tribunes* against the *Patrians* the rest of his Time, his Colleague not opposing it, being himself a *Plebeian*. The Senate, out of a Desire to get clear of 'em both, order'd a *Dictator* to be created, which fell to *Æmilius's* share to nominate, as having the *Fasces* that Month. *Æmilius* nam'd his Dic. Colleague *Publius Philo*, who appointed *Junius Brutus* xxxvi. for his Master of the Horse, and was the second Plebei- U. C. an Dictator in Rome. *Publius* was a great Vexation to 414. the Nobility, and was full of Invectives against 'em, procuring three Remarkable Laws, whereof the first alter'd the very Constitution of the State, which was, That the Plebiscita shou'd bind the *Quirites* or Citizens of Rome, of all Ranks and Degrees whatsoever. The second was, That such Laws as were enacted in the Centuriate Comitia, shou'd be propos'd or pass'd by the Senate before they were voted by the People. The third, That whereas they had obtain'd before, that both the Censors might be Plebeians; now one at least must of necessity be so. So now the Majesty of the Roman State was more impair'd by the Authority of these two at home, than it was augmented by their Valour abroad.

In the following Year, wherein *Furius Camillus* and *C. Mænius*, were Consuls, *Pedus* was taken by Storm, and

Rostra.

Prætor

Pleb.

U. C.

416.

and the Consuls in pursuit of the Victory subdu'd all *Latium*, bringing it and some neighbouring Parts to an intire Submission; for which they triumph'd, and had Statues on Horseback erected for 'em in the *Forum*, an Honour very rare in those Days. The several People of *Latium*, had several Conditions of Peace set 'em, some being rewarded and honour'd, others punish'd and disgrac'd, according as their former Behaviour had been. To *Antium* was sent a new Colony, the old Inhabitants being forbidden the Sea, and had all their long Ships taken from 'em, but had leave to enter themselves in the Colony, and were made free of that City. The Ships were some of 'em brought into the *Roman Arsenal*, others burnt, and with their *Rostra* or Beaks, was the Gallery or Pulpit for Orations in the *Forum* adorn'd; whence that had afterwards the name of *Rostra*. The Year following, *Minutia*, a Vestal Virgin, was buri'd alive in the *Campus Sceleratus*, which, as *Livy* believes, had its Name from *Incest*; for so Incontinency in those Women was call'd. And in this same Year, *Publius Philo* was made *Prætor*, who was the first *Plebeian* that obtain'd this Honour, the Senate little regarding it, having been so often overpower'd in Things of the greatest Consequence: And this hapned in the 416th Year of the City, and 28 Years after the first Creation of this Office.

III. Not long after the Agreement between the *Romans* and *Latins*, a War broke out between the *Arunci* and the *Sidicini* in *Campania*, in which the latter constrain'd the former to abandon their ancient Seats, and settle in *Suessa*, which was afterwards call'd *Arunca*. The *Arunci* had given up themselves to the *Romans*, who thereupon order'd 'em Relief; but the Consuls deferring it, lost the Opportunity of assisting 'em. But in the next Year, the *Sidicini* with their Confederates and Neighbours, the Inhabitants of *Cales*,

Cales were overthrown; and *Valerius Corvinus*, now the fourth time Consul for the following Year, and one of the greatest *Roman* Commanders of his time, took *Cales* also, in which he plac'd a Colony of 2500 Persons, *Corvinus* return'd in Triumph; but he and his Collegue being imploy'd in some small concerns abroad, a *Dictator* was created for the holding the *Comitia* for the Election of new Consuls, which was *Æmelius Mamercinus*, who appointed *Publius Philo* for his *Master of the Horse*. Two Years before this, a *Dictator* was created, and another a Year after this; but by reason of their undue Election, and their not acting, I shall not reckon 'em among the *Dictators*. Things were now pretty quiet for a while, but in two or three Years time, the mere Rumour of an Invasion by the *Gauls* occasion'd the Creation of a *Dictator*, which was *Papirius Crassus*, his *Master of the Horse* being *V. Poplicola*; but neither of 'em had anything material to do. In this same Year, two new *Tribes* were added, namely, the *Metian* and the *Scaptian*, for the late admitted Citizens, which now made the Number twenty nine: The *Arunci* were also made free of the City, but without the Priviledge of Voting, by a Law preferr'd by *Papirius* the *Prætor*.

About a Year after these things, above 170 Women were put to Death for the Art of Poysoning, being discover'd by a She-slave. This was look'd upon, as such a Prodigy by the Superstitious People, that a *Dictator* was created to drive a Nail into *Jupiter's* Temple, as the best Remedy for the Distempers of the State. *Quintius Varus* was the Man, and *Valerius Porius* his *Master of the Horse*; and this was the second *Dictator* created upon that account. For the two succeeding Years, a War was carri'd on against the Inhabitants of *Privernum* in the *Volscian* State, who were drawn into it by *Vitrurinus Vallus*, a Man of principal Note among the *Arunci*. The first Year they were overthrown, the next *Vitrurinus* was taken Prisoner,

M

and

Dic.

xxxvii.

U. C.

418.

Dic.

xxxviii.

U. C.

421.

Tribes en-
creas'd a
fifth time.

Dic.

xxxix.

U. C.

422:

U. C.
424.

and *Privernum* surrender'd; the principal Actors with *Vitruvius* being put to Death, and the rest of the Inhabitants made free of the City: This hapned in the same Year with *Alexander's* destroying the *Persian* Empire, and his setting up the *Macedonian*, and 60 after the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. In a Year or two after, the Inhabitants of *Palaeopoles* in *Campania*, trusting to the Treachery of the *Samnites*, and taking advantage from a Plague in *Rome*, committed great Acts of Hostility against the *Romans*, who dwelt about *Cumae* and *Falernus*. War was presently declar'd against 'em, and tho they were assisted by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, a People beyond 'em, yet they were forc'd to yield up their City, which stood just where *Naples* did afterwards, and the *Samnites* lost three of their own Towns. The *Tarentines* nevertheless proceeded, and drew the *Samnites* with the Residue of the *Palaeopolitans* afresh into the War, wherein the *Vestini*, together with their Allies, were also engaged.

In the beginning of this War, great Stirs happen'd in the City, occasion'd by one *Papyrius*, who had given up himself as Slave to *Publius*, a severe Usurer, to work out his Father's Debt. *Papyrius* being both Young and Beautiful, *Publius* attempted to abuse him after a filthy Manner, and upon his Refusal, most cruelly scourg'd him. In this Condition *Papyrius* fled to the People, who were so affected with his sad Usage, that they procur'd these two Laws presently after: First, *That no Man shou'd be detain'd in Bonds, except for heinous Misdemeanors, and then not after Punishment.* The second, *That the Money and Goods, not the Body of the Debtor shou'd be responsible:* Whereupon all Prisoners for Debt were immediately set at Liberty. The following Year, the *Vestini* were overthrown by *Brutus Scæva*, the Consul, and two Towns taken from 'em. His Colleague, *Furius Camillus*, being Sick at *Samnium*, nam'd *Papyrius Cursor* for Dictator, the most famous Commander in those times, who appointed *Fabius Rutillianus*

Dic. xl.
U. C.
428.

Rutillianus for his *Master of the Horse*. *Papyrius* being encamp'd nigh the *Samnites*, was forc'd to return to *Rome* to renew his *Auspicia*, leaving a most strict Command to *Fabius* not to stir out of his Trenches in his absence: But *Fabius* finding a great Advantage, fell upon the Enemy, and made a great Slaughter of 'em. The *Dictator* in a great Rage return'd to the Camp, and had put him to Death, but the Army rescu'd him; which made *Papyrius* complain heavily to the Senate, withal urging the absolute Necessity of strict Discipline and Authority. But at last the Intreaties of the Fathers, with the Commotions of the *Tribunes* and People, prevail'd with him to spare his Life. This Severity of *Papyrius* so alienated the Hearts of the Soldiers, that it had like to have cost him the loss of a Battel soon after, which constrain'd him to be more Popular for the future; after which he overthrew the *Samnites*, and so destroy'd their Country, as forc'd them to desire a Peace.

The *Samnites* soon return'd to their former Enmity, and in two Years time they grew so strong, that the Senate thought fit to create a *Dictator* to oppose 'em, and this was *Cornelius Arvina*, who appointed *Fabius Ambustus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and gave the Enemy a great Overthrow; by which the *Samnites* were so weaken'd, that they sent all their Prisoners and Plunder to *Rome*, together with the dead Body of the Author of the Revolt, who had kill'd himself to avoid being deliver'd up, and all to purchase Peace. The Senate only receiv'd the Men, with such Goods as were particularly challeng'd, and deni'd 'em Peace. At this *Pontius*, the chief Man among 'em, drew out the *Samnites* to a Place, call'd *Caudium*, and putting ten Soldiers in the Habit of Shepherds, he sent 'em to *Calatia* where the *Consuls* lay, with Instructions to report that the *Samnites* were now in *Apulia* before *Luceria*, and had almost taken it. The *Consuls* believing this Report, made all speed to relieve the Town,

left their Allies, the *Apulians* might be oblig'd to join with the *Samnites*. Now the *Romans* had but two Ways to get to *Luceria*; one large enough, but far about; the other a narrow Passage through the Straits of *Caudium*, a Place incompass'd with high Mountains, and extream difficult and dangerous to pass, if an Enemy were nigh. The Consuls leading their Army through this, were immediately block'd up on all sides by *Pontius*, who had possess'd himself of all the Defiles.

The *Samnites* having got the *Romans* at this great Advantage, sent presently to *Herennius*, *Pontius's* Father, to know what to do. *Herennius* sent two several Messages, the first to dismiss the *Romans* without any Injury at all, the second to put 'em all to the Sword; urging, *That one or the other of these two Ways was necessary; for the first would lay a perpetual Obligation on a most powerful People, and the second would be a great weakning of a most formidable Enemy; and that no third Way cou'd either gain their Friendship, or diminish their Strength.* But this wise Counsel wou'd not be heard; so the *Romans* had these Articles allow'd 'em: First, *That their Army shou'd march away only with their under Garments, having first in Token of Slavery pass'd under the Jugum or Gallows:* Secondly, *They shou'd wholly quit all Samnium, and remove all their Colonies:* And Thirdly, *Both Roman and Samnite shou'd live under the same Terms of Confederacy and Alliance.* The *Romans* were constrain'd to submit to these disgraceful Articles, and with wonderful Shame, Anger, and Confusion, return'd to *Capua* disarm'd and half naked, and from thence to *Rome*. The whole City was most sensibly afflicted at this shameful Disaster, their generous Blood boiling in their Veins, and nothing but Fury and Revenge appear'd in their Faces. The Consuls refused to

Dic. xlii. appear abroad, or to act, so a Dictator was created for
U. C. holding the *Comitia* for a new Election, which was
 432. *Æmilius Papus*, who appointed *Valerius Flaccus* for his

his *Master of the Horse*. But instead of an Election of Consuls, the State for a while fell into an *Interregnum*, there being nothing but Grief and Vexation in all Places, and the whole City put into Mourning.

But the Year following, Consuls were chosen, *Papirius Cursor* and *Publius Philo* being the Persons; and the Senate being call'd, *Posthumius*, one of the last years Consuls, generously offer'd to be deliver'd, together with his Colleague up to the Enemy, and so to break the *Caudian Treaty*, urging, *That only they two were oblig'd to observe the Articles, and not the State, which was altogether Ignorant of what was done.* This was gratefully accepted of, but *Pontius* refus'd to receive 'em, greatly exclaiming against the *Perfidiousness* of the *Romans*. But the Army soon march'd against them under the Conduct of *Papirius*, and sufficiently reveng'd themselves of all former Affronts, overthrowing 'em in several Battels, making 'em all pass under the *Fugum*, recovering several Towns, and freeing the 600 Hostages which they had deliver'd to 'em in the *Caudian Treaty*; so that the *Samnites* cou'd very hardly obtain a two years Truce. In the time of this Truce, two new Tribes were added to the rest, namely, the *Ufentine* and *Falerine*, which made the Number thirty one. The *Samnites*, encourag'd by some others, broke their Truce, which together with the *Hetrurians* warlike Preparations, occasion'd the Creation of a Dictator, which was *L. Amelius*, who made *L. Fulvius* his *Master of the Horse*, and in a bloody Battel overthrew the Enemy, who came to relieve *Saticula*, which he had invested. The next Year, another Dictator was created to carry on this War, which was *Fabius Maximus*, who chose *Aulus Cerretan* for his *Master of the Horse*, and took *Saticula*, carrying on the War with great Success against the *Samnites*, and considerably enlarging the *Roman Dominions* in those Parts.

Tribes en-
creas'd a
sixth time.
U. C.

436.

Dic. xliii.

U. C.

437.

Dic. xliv.

U. C.

438.

The following Year, a dangerous Conspiracy was discover'd at *Capua*; and this occasion'd the creating of a *Dictator*, which was *C. Mænius*, who made choice of *M. Fostius* for his *Master of the Horse*, and soon put an end to that Business. The next Year, the *Samnite* War was carri'd on with great Vigour, and a *Dictator* created, which was *C. Pæteli*, who made *M. Fostius* his *Master of the Horse*, and gain'd great Advantages over the Enemy. And now the *Romans* had a little breathing time, and but a little; for soon after the *Hetrurians* threatning great Things, another *Dictator* was created, which was *Junius Bibulus*, who did little against 'em by reason of their keeping upon the Defensive. In this same Year, *Appius Claudius* being one of the *Censors*, made the famous Cawfy, or High-way, call'd *Via Appia*, a prodigious Work, together with the Channel of fresh Water, which he brought in the City, which Works he all alone accomplish'd, according to *Livy*. A year or two was employ'd against the *Hetrurians*, till at last *Papyrius* was made *Dictator*, who chusing *Bubulus* his *Master of the Horse*, gave 'em the greatest Overthrow that they ever receiv'd yet, their best Men being lost; and from that time they were never able to do much against *Rome*. Four years after, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for Election of Consuls, which was *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Decius Mus* was his *Master of the Horse*. In the second Year after this, the *Samnites* after many and great Losses, obtain'd a Peace, 12 Years after they broke their Truce, and the ancient League was renew'd with 'em, and this happen'd 37 Years after the first War with that Nation.

V. Soon after this Peace was concluded, the *Romans* turn'd their Arms against the *Æqui*, and chastiz'd them for helping the *Samnites*, which afrighted other Nations into Subjection, the *Roman* Dominions increasing every day. But however such Resistance was made as they thought it necessary to have a *Dictator*, which was

was *Junius Bubulcius*, who chose *M. Titinius* for his *Master of the Horse*, and in eight days time return'd in *Triumph*. In less than a Year after, the Noise of the *Hetrurians* joyning with the *Umbrians*, a People on the North of them, and the *Sabines*, occasion'd the creating of another *Dictator*, which was *Valerius Maximus*, who appointed *Emilius Paulus* for his *Master of the Horse*. This *Dictator* quite broke the Power of all the *Hetrurians*, reducing their Territories to the Roman Subjection; which hapned above 430 Years after the first Wars with those People. The *Umbrians*, were much worsted too, and lost a considerable Part of their Country, the *Romans* still extending their Dominions on all Sides, and increasing in strength every Day.

During a sort of an Intermission abroad, the Commons began to fall into their former dissatisfi'd Humour, and the *Tribunes* much complain'd that all the *Priests* and *Augurs* were created out of the *Patritians*, and urg'd that the *Plebeians* might also partake of those Offices. The Senate made no great Oppositions as being sufficiently accustom'd to yield in things of greater Moment: So, that whereas at present there were but four *Chief Priests*, and as many *Augurs*, answering to the four *Tribes* in the City, now four more were added, and to those, five more out of the Body of the Commons. And in this same Year, *Valerius*, the Consul, preferr'd a Law of *Appeal* more carefully enacted; which was the third time this Law was confirm'd since the Expulsion of the Kings, and always occasion'd by the same Family. The same Consul fell upon the *Aequi*, who were now in Rebellion, and in a little time they had nothing left 'em of their ancient Fortune, but the Stoutness of their Tempers. The following Year was a *Lustrum*, and two new *Tribes* were added to the former, namely, the *Aniensis* and the *Tarentine*, which now made the whole Number thirty three. The City was also much increas'd, for at the next *Lustrum*, five

Dic. li.

U. C.

451.

452.

Tribes en-
creas'd a
seventh
time.

U. C.

Years after there were cess'd no less than 262322 free Citizens.

Within a Year after this, the *Samnites* after six Years Respite, broke their League with the *Romans*, and with them were fought several Battels, the *Samnites* being almost always Losers. But the most memorable was that about three Years after this last Breach, when they had got the *Umbrians* and *Gauls*, with some of the *Hetrurians* to assist 'em, and receiv'd a most terrible Overthrow by the Consuls, *Fabius Maximus* and *Decius Mus*. In the midst of this Fight, *Decius* seeing his Party give ground, and in danger of being defeated, he follow'd the great Example of his Father above forty Years before, and most solemnly devoted himself to the Gods; then rushing into the midst of the Enemy with an extraordinary Fury and Courage, he recover'd his Army, but with the loss of his Life. About two Years after, *Papyrius*, Son to the former, got a noble Victory over 'em, took above 15000 Prisoners, gain'd several Towns, and obtain'd a splendid Triumph. But the following Year, the *Samnites* ventur'd another Battel, and had better Fortune, overthrowing *Fabius Gurgus*, the Consul, which put the Senate upon removing of him. But his Father, *Fabius Maximus*, to prevent the Disgrace, promis'd to be Lieutenant to his Son; which Office he perform'd so well, as he procur'd him a great Victory, and a Triumph. And within two Years after, the *Samnites* were so mortifi'd, as to beg a Peace, after *Pontius* their General had been taken and slain, which was at last granted 'em, and the League was renew'd with 'em a fourth time.

U. C.
462.

In less than a Years time, the *Samnites* again broke their League, but were punish'd with the loss of several Battels and Towns; over whom, *Dentatus*, the Consul triumph'd twice in one Year; after which were Colonies sent to *Castrum*, *Sena*, and *Adria*. Two
Years

Years after, the *Triumviri* for Capital Matters were created, who had Power to imprison and punish all Malefactors ; and in the same Year 273000 Free Citizens were Cens'd. Three Years after that, the Commons by reason of their Debts, and violent Contests between them and the *Patritians*, withdrew themselves into the Hill *Janiculum* ; which was the third Separation of the *Plebeians*. The Senate to appease this dangerous Tumult, Created *Q. Hortensius Dictator*, who with much Difficulty perswaded 'em to return, Promising them, That their *Plebiscita* shou'd have the force of *Laws*, and bind the whole Body Politick. This was call'd the *Lex Hortentia*, tho' the same in Effect had been granted twice before. Soon after, Wars were successsfully manag'd against the *Lucani*, in almost the farthest Parts of *Italy*, who had molested the *Thurini*, the *Roman* Allies. But the last of the *Italians* that made much Opposition were the *Tarentines*, formerly mention'd, who inhabited a very large and rich City in the South Eastern parts of *Italy*, 240 Miles from *Rome*. These People had plunder'd several of the *Roman* Ships, and this was the occasion and beginning of that War.

Nevertheless these *Tarentines*, tho' joyn'd with the *Lucani*, *Messapii*, *Brutii*, *Apulii* and *Samnites*, (the four former being their Neighbours, and the Inhabitants of the South Eastern parts of *Italy*) were not able to oppose the growing Power of the *Romans* ; but were in a little time so distrs'd, that they were forc'd to send for *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* to come over and assist 'em. And thus began the memorable War with that famous Commander, the most considerable the *Romans* ever before met with, which hapn'd in the 473d. Year of the City, A. M. 3724, in the 4th Year of the 124th *Olympiad*, 228 since the beginning of the Consular State, 109 since the Burning of the City by the *Gauls*, 49 since the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 279 before our Saviour *Christ*.

Dic. lii.

U. C.

467.

U. C.

472.

C H A P. VIII.

From the first Wars with Pyrrhus King of Epirus, to the first Punick or Carthaginian War; when the Romans first set Foot out of Italy.

Containing the Space of 16 Years.

U. C.
473.

I. **P**YRRHUS was much Solicited by the *Tarentines* to come into *Italy*, who in the Name of many of the *Italians* presented him with many Things, signifying, *How much they stood in need of a General, so Eminent both for Abilities, and the Reputation of his Arms.* Pyrrhus being of a generous and ambitious Temper, promis'd 'em to come over with an Army, and presently dispatch'd *Cineas* a *Thessalian*, an excellent Orator and Scholar of *Demosthenes*, with 3000 Men for *Tarentum*. Soon after, he put to Sea with 20 Elephants, 3000 Horse, 20000 Foot, 2000 Archers, and 500 Slingers; but meeting with a great Storm, his Ships were much dispers'd and some lost, so that he arriv'd at *Tarentum* with but a small part of his Army. When he enter'd the Town, he wou'd do nothing without their Order, till the rest of his Army were arriv'd; then taking Notice how the Inhabitants minded little else but Bathing, Feasting, and their Pleasures, he shut up the Publick Meeting Places, restrain'd them from Drinking and Games, and called them to Arms, being very severe in Lifting Men fit for Action and Service. He now receiv'd Intelligence, that *Lævinus* the Roman Consul was upon his March with a numerous Army, wasting *Lucania* as he pass'd; and tho these Confederate

rate Troops were not all arriv'd, he drew out his Army against him; but before the Armies shou'd joyn, he sent to *Lævinus* offering a Mediation between the *Romans* and their Adversaries. But *Lævinus* return'd Answer, *That he neither esteem'd him as a Mediator, nor fear'd him as an Enemy*; and taking his Messengers, he order'd 'em to be led through the midst of the Camp, and bad them go tell their Master what they had seen.

Pyrrhus advanc'd, and encamp'd on the Plain between *Pandosia* and *Heraclia*; and perceiving the *Romans* lay on the other side of the River *Lyrus* in good Order, he Planted Men all along the Bank to oppose their Passage: But the *Romans* hastning to prevent the coming up of those Forces he look'd for, Attempted the Passage with their Infantry, where it was fordable, the Horse getting over in several Places; so that the *Greeks* fearing to be hemm'd in were oblig'd to retreat a little, which *Pyrrhus* perceiving, drew up his Men in Battalia, himself at the Head of 'em, and began the Charge. He was very remarkable for the Fineness and Richness of his Arms, but more for the Bravery and Nobleness of his Acts; managing the Battel with a great Steadiness and Presence of Mind, and performing the Drudgery of a common Soldier, as well as the Office of a General. In the midst of the Fight, *Pyrrhus's* Horse was kill'd under him, which made him change Armour with one near him, who being taken for the King was slain, and his Armour taken. This Armour being carri'd about by the *Romans* in token of his Death, struck such a Terror into his Soldiers, that it had lost him the Victory, but that he seasonably, and with much Labour made himself known. Whilst the Battel seem'd doubtful, the Elephants were sent in among the *Romans*, and the Surprize they were in, together with their Horses not induring the Smell and Bigness of those Creatures, broke their Ranks; whereupon

whereupon *Pyrrhus* commanded the *Thessalian* Cavalry to Charge them in this Disorder, and gave them a total Rout, with great Slaughter, tho with the Loss of many of his best Men, he himself also being wounded. The *Romans* lost nigh 15000 Men, and had 1800 taken Prisoners: and the other side lost 13000, as *Plutarch* observes out of *Dionysius*.

Pyrrhus us'd the *Roman* Prisoners with a great deal of Civility and Courtesie, and generously bury'd their Dead; and taking a view of their Bodies, and observing that they were all wounded before, and what noble and stern Countenances they had, he lift up his Eyes, and Cry'd, O how easily might I Conquer the World, were I Master of such Soldiers! After this Battel, *Pyrrhus* being joyn'd with the Auxiliary Troops of the *Samnites*, *Lucani* and *Brutii*, directed his March towards *Rome*, and advanc'd as far as *Præneste*, laying waste all before him. The *Romans* us'd all necessary Diligence to recruit their Troops, and make new Levies, whetting their Courages as much as possibly, *Fabricius* a *Patritian* insinuating, That the Loss was not through want of Valour, but Conduct, and that the *Grecians* had not overcome the *Romans*, but *Pyrrhus* had Conquer'd *Lævinus*. *Pyrrhus* finding the *Romans* very busie and expeditious in their 'Recruits, consider'd it was more Honourable to Treat with 'em after his Victory, since he had but small hopes of subduing them, and for that purpose sent *Cineas* to feel their Minds, a Man so powerful in Rhetorick, that the King acknowledg'd him, To have storm'd more Towns by his Tongue, than he ever did by his Arms. *Cineas* very closely apply'd himself to several of the Great ones, with Presents for themselves and their Ladies as from his Master; but so steady they were, that not a Person wou'd receive any, and both Men and Women answer'd, That if a Treaty were publickly concluded, They then shou'd be ready to shew all Respect and Service to so great a Man as the King was.

Cineas

Cineas finding these Methods ineffectual, proceeded to his Business more publickly, and being come into the Senate, he said the most soft and obliging Things in the World; likewise offering in his Masters Name, to return all that was taken in the Battel without Ransom, and Promising all the Assistance that cou'd be for the Conquering all *Italy*, only asking for his Master and the *Tarentines* their Friendship and Alliance. These fair Promises made the Senate somewhat inclin'd to a Treaty, till *Appius Claudius*, now blind and very ancient, was brought into the Senate-House, who by a stirring and encouraging Oration, so warm'd 'em, that *Cineas* cou'd be hear'd no more, but was dismiss'd with this Answer; *That when Pyrrhus had withdrawn his Forces from Italy, then if he pleas'd they wou'd Treat with him about Friendship and Alliance, but till then, they resolv'd to carry on the War with the utmost Vigour, tho they met with never so many Defeats.* *Cineas* at his Return, was ask'd by *Pyrrhus*, what he thought of *Rome*, he told him, *That the Senate appear'd to him as a venerable Assembly of so many Kings; and the People he thought were like the Hydra, whose Numbers increas'd the more for the Defeat, for the Consul had already rais'd twice as great an Army, and there were still far greater Numbers behind.*

Soon after *Cineas's* Return, the Romans sent to *Pyrrhus* about Ransoming of Prisoners, among others, *C. Fabricius*, a Person eminent for his great Vertues, and remarkable for his profess'd Poverty. *Pyrrhus* receiv'd him with an extraordinary Civility and Kindness, likewise offer'd him Gold, assuring him, *It was no otherwise than an Hospitable Respect to a Person of his Excellencies; but all this had no Effect upon the Steadiness of Fabricius's Temper.* The next Day, *Pyrrhus* trying all Ways to discompose him, commanded one of his largest Elephants, compleatly Arm'd, to be plac'd behind the Hangings, and in the midst of their Discourse, upon a Sign given, the Tapestry was drawn

drawn aside, and the huge Elephant raising his Trunk over *Fabricius's* Head, made a hideous Noise. *Fabricius*, tho he had never seen this Creature, was not at all afraid, but gently turning about, and Smiling said, *Neither your Gold Yesterday, nor you dreadful Beast to Day can make any Impression upon me.* *Pyrrhus* amaz'd at the Greatness of his Mind, releas'd the Prisoners, intrusting 'em to him alone, with nothing but a Promise, *That if the Senate accepted not of Peace, they shou'd return to him*; which accordingly they did, being commanded to do it by the Senate upon pain of Death. In the same Year, *Corancanius*, *Lævinus's* Collegue, Triumph'd over some of the *Hetrurians* who had revolted; and likewise this Year the *Lustrum* being perform'd, 278222 Free Citizens were Cens'd.

U. C.
474

II. The Roman Army being now recruited, *Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *Decius Mus*, the Consuls for the following Year, were sent against *Pyrrhus*. The Romans had now learn'd not to fear the Elephants so much as formerly, and were very careful in understanding *Pyrrhus's* Art and Conduct in Battel. Both Armies met about the City of *Asculum*, and *Pyrrhus* was incomodod by a Woody Country unfit for his Cavalry, and a very swift Current of the River, that the Elephants for want of sure Footing cou'd not get up with the Infantry: But after many wounded and kill'd, the Night put an end to the Engagement. The next Morning, *Pyrrhus* designing to Fight on even Ground, and to have the Elephants in the thickest of the Enemy, caus'd a Detachment, to possess themselves of those Incommodious Grounds, and mixing Slingers and Archers among the Elephants, with great Courage advanc'd in a close and well order'd Body; and the Romans not having those Advantages of Retreating and falling on as they had before, were oblig'd to Fight Man to Man upon plain Ground, making bloody Work among the

the *Græcian* Spears, not minding or valuing what they suffer'd themselves : After a long and obstinate Fight, the *Romans* were so press'd upon, especially by the mighty Force of the Elephants and the *Græcian* Cavalry, and so over-power'd, that they retreated to their Camp with the loss of 6000 Men, the Enemy having lost nigh 4000. This Battel is variously related, but this is the truest Account that I can find of it.

After this Engagement, 'tis said, *Pyrrhus* reply'd to a Gentleman who gave him Joy of his Victory, *If we overcome the Romans another time we are utterly ruin'd.* For by this time, he had lost a great Part of his Forces he had brought over, and almost all his particular Friends and Commanders. This Battel finish'd the Campaign, and the rest of the time was employ'd in taking Care for the next ; at which time *Fabricius* himself was chosen Consul together with *Emilius Papus*. At the nigh Approach of the the two Armies, *Fabricius* receiv'd a Letter from the King's principal Physician, Offering to take off *Pyrrhus* by Poyson, and so end the War without farther hazard to the Romans, provided he might have a Reward proportionable to the Greatness of the Service. *Fabricius* inrag'd at the Villany of the Physician, and Disposing his Colleague to the same Opinion, he immediately dispatch'd Letters to *Pyrrhus* to let him know what an ill Choice he had made both of his Friends and Enemies ; that he was in War with Honest Men, and trusted and promoted Villains ; and that the Romans abbor'd all Treacherous Practices, it being their Custom to Conquer an Enemy by the Power of their own Arms, and not by Treason of the others Subjects. *Pyrrhus* receiv'd the Message with all Courtesie, and being more and more surpriz'd at the Roman Greatness and Generosity, he cry'd out, *This is that Fabricius whom it is harder to turn from the Ways of Vertue and Honesty, than the Sun from its Course.*

Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus made a strick Inquiry into this Plot, and executed the Physician; and that he might not be out done in Generosity, he immediately sent to *Rome* all the Prisoners without Ransom, and again employ'd *Cineas* to Negotiate a Peace with em, being now more desirous of their Alliance than ever: But whether the *Romans* believ'd their sending home so many Prisoners, too great a Kindness from an Enemy, or too great a Reward for barely not doing Ill, they wou'd not accept of 'em *Gratis*, but immediately releas'd as many of the *Tarentines* and *Sammites*: And wou'd admit of no Debate of Alliance or Peace with *Pyrrhus*, till he had withdrawn his Forces from *Italy*, and Sail'd back to *Epirus* in the same Ships that brought him over. The King was much puzzled at this, being very unwilling to continue this War, and more to quit it Dishonourably; but in a little time after he was reliev'd by an Expedition into *Sicily*, he being intreated by the Inhabitants, to expell the *Carthaginians*, and clear the Island of Tyrants. This prov'd an Honourable Pretence of drawing off his Forces, and leaving *Italy*; therefore sending *Cineas* before, and putting a Garrison into *Tarentum*, tho much against their Wills, he embark'd for *Sicily* with an Army of 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horse, after he had been in *Italy* two Years and four Months.

III. The Absence of *Pyrrhus* gave the *Romans* much Respite, or at least Leisure enough to punish the *Sammites*, *Tarentines*, *Lucani* and *Brutii*, whom they warr'd against with good Success; they having little Hopes, but the Return of *Pyrrhus*, with whom they were very Urgent, letting him to understand, That they were shut up in their Towns, which cou'd hardly be maintain'd without his Assistance. *Pyrrhus*, tho he had

had been successful enough, within two Years, was glad to have so specious a Pretence of leaving *Sicily*, when his Carriage there had been so distastful to many, that in a little time he must have left it with no other Pretence than Necessity and Self-Preservation. About the time of his Return, there happened such a dreadful Plague in *Rome*, that *Cornelius Rufinus*, the last year's Consul, was created *Dictator* for the Ceremony of Driving a Nail into the Temple of *Jupiter*, which they, by Tradition, believ'd would assuage the Distemper: and this was the third *Dictator* created upon this Account. The *Consuls* for the following year were *Curius Dentatus*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*; the former of which raising new Levies, was oppos'd by the People, who refus'd to list themselves. *Curius*, resolving to go through with his Designs, commanded the Names of every *Tribe* to be put into a Box; and the Lot falling upon the *Pollian Tribe*, the first that was drawn of that *Tribe* was cited; and not answering, he sold his Goods; and, upon his appealing to the *Tribunes*, he sold the Man too, saying, *The Commonwealth had no need of such a Member as refus'd all Obedience.* The *Tribunes* did not assist the Fellow; and from that time, if any refus'd to list himself in a just Muster when commanded, it became a Custom to make a Slave of him.

Pyrrhus, by this time, had with some Difficulty and Danger got from *Sicily* to *Tarentum* with an Army of 20000 Foot and 3000 Horse, where increasing his Army by new Levies, he march'd into *Samnium*, where the *Romans* had got together a powerful Army. *Pyrrhus* divided his Forces into two Parts, whereof, one he sent into *Lucania* to hinder *Lentulus* from joining with his Colleague *Curius Dentatus*, against whom he directed his March, then advantageously posted nigh *Beneventum*. *Pyrrhus* hast'ning to attack him there before the other cou'd arrive, with the choicest of his Men, and the fiercest of his Elephants,

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march'd

Dic. liiii

U. C.

477.

march'd in the night time towards the *Roman* Camp, hoping to surprize 'em; but passing through Woods his Lights fail'd him, and his Men lost their way. Whereupon a Council of War being call'd, while they were in debate, and at the break of day his Approach was discover'd by the *Romans* as they went down the Hills, which put their whole Camp into much Disorder and Fear; but recovering themselves, *Curius* drew out his Troops in haste, and falling in with the Vantguard of *Pyrrhus*, put him to flight, killing many Men, and taking some Elephants. This Success very much discourag'd the rest of *Pyrrhus's* Troops, and *Curius* descending into the Plain, join'd Battel with the whole Army. In one Wing he repuls'd the Enemy, in the other, by the Violence of the Elephants, he was born back to his Trenches; where calling forth those that guarded 'em, they from the high Places so ply'd the Beasts with Darts and fired Pitch and Hemp, that they ran back upon their Friends, bearing down, and breaking all their Ranks, so that the Victory fell to the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus* having lost 23000 Men, according to *Utopius*.

Pyrrhus's Camp was also taken, which was not only admir'd, but likewise prov'd of very great Use afterwards: for anciently the *Romans* and the Nations about 'em were wont to pitch their Tents here and there, after the manner of Booths, in the midst of their several Battalions; but *Pyrrhus* measuring out his ground, encamp'd his whole Army within a Trench. By his Example the *Romans* receiv'd great Light into Warlike Affairs, and afterwards adding such things as they found necessary, they attained to the most absolute Skill in Encamping, in succeeding times. *Curius Dentatus* obtained a most splendid Triumph for this Victory, being graced with four Elephants, 1300 Prisoners of several Nations, with several Implements of the *Tarentine* Luxury, and Foreign Rarities. A few days after, his Colleague triumph'd

umph'd over the *Samnites* and *Lucani*; and this year was remarkable for the *Censorship* of *Fabricius* and *Emilius*, who remov'd *Rufinus*, and who had been twice *Consul* and once *Dictator*, out of the Senate, for having ten pound of Silver Plate for the Use of his Table; and in this *Lustrum* 271224 Free Citizens were cens'd or poll'd. As for *Pyrrhus*, he bore his Defeat with an undaunted Mind, and receiving Letters from *Greece* and *Asia*, he call'd the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* together, telling them that Assistance wou'd soon come; which Report, kept the *Romans* in their Camp: and so taking this Advantage, the Night following he pass'd undisturb'd into *Epirus* with 8000 Foot and 500 Horse, first leaving a Garrison in *Tarentum*, which was more to preserve his own Reputation than for any other Use. Thus in about six Years ended the Wars with the famous *Pyrrhus*, a Person reckon'd the ablest Commander of all the Kings in that time, both for Military Experience and Personal Valour: but he knew better how to Conquer than how to Keep; and from him the *Romans* did not only improve the Art of Encamping, but likewise learn'd to avoid Plains, and better to sustain the shock of a disciplin'd Cavalry, which before they had despis'd.

IV. The *Roman* Name, which before had been famous, was now become formidable, after the Overthrow of so great a Man as *Pyrrhus*, which made way for farther Conquests, and the Establishment of the *Roman* Empire. In the second year after *Pyrrhus's* Retreat, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, sent Embassadors to congratulate the *Roman* Success, and to enter into an Alliance with 'em. The *Romans*, to shew him the greater Respect, likewise sent Embassadors to *Egypt*, where they were most courteously receiv'd, and sent home laden with Gifts and Presents. The following year, the *Tarentines* not being

V. C.
480.

able to remove the Garrison *Pyrrhus* had left under *Milo*, desir'd Aid of the *Carthaginians*; and with them giving Battel to the *Romans*, were overthrown. *Milo* sensible how unable he was to resist, by leave from the Consul *Papirius*, departed with his Men, and left the Castle, which the *Romans* possessing, easily became Masters of the City, the Walls whereof they demolish'd. Peace and Liberty were granted to all the Citizens; and this year the two Consuls triumph'd, having finish'd both the *Tarentine* and *Samnite* Wars in the year 481. The latter of these had, with some Intermissions, continu'd seventy one years; and over these the *Romans* triumph'd thirty times, namely, Consuls twenty six, Dictator twice, and Pro-Consuls as many.

Now the *Romans* grew much too powerful for their Neighbours, for the greatest part of *Italy* was now conquer'd, an Accession being made not only of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*, but of the *Lucanians* also, and not long before, of the *Herrnians*. After this, the *Campanian* Legion, who had treacherously seiz'd upon *Rhegium*, and kept it to themselves, were besieg'd, and upon Surrender, put to death by fifty at a time. Soon after, the Inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum* sending Embassadors to *Rome*, some unruly Noblemen fell upon 'em and beat 'em; but the *Romans* were so just as to deliver 'em up to the *Apollonians*. In the same year, the *Picentes* were subdu'd, and Colonies were sent to *Arminum* in the Country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*. About the same time was Silver first coin'd in *Rome*, whereas Brass had only been in use till now, their Riches being encreas'd by their Conquests, and large Quantities of Silver were found in a Castle of the *Samnites*. A year after, the *Sabines*, who some years past had been made Denizens of *Rome*, receiv'd now also the Power of Voting in Elections. About four years after that, the Number of the *Quaestors* were

V. C.
484.

Quaes. en-
creas'd,

Ch. IX. *The Consular State.*

181

were encreas'd from four to eight ; and in the same year the Reduction of the *Umbri* and *Sallentini*, together with the City of *Brundisium*, compleated the Conquest of all *Italy*. U. C.
489.

Now were the *Roman* Dominions much larger than ever, containing the whole Body of old *Italy* and the several *Italian* Nations, being about 500 Miles long, and 130 broad, which comprehended about one half of that Country which now goes by the Name of *Italy*, as was formerly observ'd. Just at the same time began the first *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, in the 489th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3740, in the 4th Year of the 128th *Olympiad*, 244 since the beginning of the *Consular* State, 125 since the Destruction of the City by the *Gauls*, 65 since the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, and 263 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. IX.

From the Beginning of the first Punick War, to the Beginning of the second; the Romans now growing powerful by Sea as well as by Land.

Containing the Space of 47 Years.

I. **T**HE *Carthaginians* made up a very large and powerful Commonwealth, commanding most of that part of *Africa* which now goes by the general Name of *Barbary*; their Dominions extending about 2000 Miles in length, all bordering upon the Sea, and having besides the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, U. C.
489.

Corfica, and the greatest part of *Sicily*, with other lesser Isles. The Occasion of the *Romans* War with this Nation, was, their joyning with *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* against the *Mamertines*, and for besieging *Messana*, which made that People seek to *Rome* for Succour. The *Romans* had not forgot the *Carthaginians* helping the *Tarentines* not long before; and because the former Carriage of the *Mamertines* was not easily justified, they made that their Pretence of falling out with 'em. And *Appius Claudius*, one of the Consuls, was presently sent over to *Sicily* with an Army and a small Fleet. With much Danger and Difficulty he pass'd the Streights between *Italy* and *Sicily*, but with that Success, that he rais'd the Siege of *Messana* in a short time, and after that defeated both *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* in two several Battels. *Appius* return'd to *Rome* with a noble Triumph, which was the first that ever was obtain'd upon the Account of Foreign Actions. Notwithstanding the great Wasting of the People by continual Wars, 292224 Free Citizens were cess'd this Year; and in this Year *D. Junius Brutus* first brought in the Custom of having Fencing Matches perform'd by *Gladiators* at Funerals, a Custom very much in use afterwards.

The following Year, both the Consuls were order'd for *Sicily*, with all their Legions. And they manag'd the War so successfully, that going to invest *Syracuse* it self, *Hiero* was affrighted into Obedience, perceiving that the *Romans* were most likely to be Conquerours; and so he made Peace upon these Terms, To restore all their Prisoners without Ransom, and to pay a hundred Talents of Silver. The *Romans* more readily embrac'd the Alliance, because the *Carthaginians* being Masters at Sea, they cou'd not safely supply the Armies with Provisions and Necessaries, expecting that he shou'd chiefly take care about that. *Valerius*, one of this Year's Consuls, from *Messana* had

had the Sirname of *Messala*, who also having taken *Catana*, carry'd from thence a new Sun-Dial to *Rome*, *Papirius Cursor* having 30 Years before set up the first that ever was in this City. This, tho' not perfect, the People made use of for 99 Years, till *M. Philippus* the *Censor* set up a perfect one by it; and about that time, *Scipio Nasica* being *Censor*, first made the equal Division of the Day into Hours, by Water dropping out of one Vessel into another. This Year the City being much afflicted with a Pestilence; a *Dictator* was created for the Ceremony of Driving a Nail into *Jupiter's* Temple: This was *Fulvius Maximus*, who made *Marcus Philippus* his Master of the Horse; and he was the fourth *Dictator* created upon this Account.

Dic. liv.
U. C.
490.

The *Romans*, by the Alliance with *Hiero*, found themselves so eas'd of the Burden of the War, that the following Year they sent but two Legions to *Sicily*; at which time *Agrigentum* was invested by the *Romans*, and *Annibal*, the *Carthaginian* General who came to relieve it, was overthrown by *Posthumius* and *Mamilius* the Consuls; so after a long Siege it was taken. The News of this was very grateful to the Citizens of *Rome*, who now began to think of nothing less than the clearing of *Sicily*, and the Conquest of that Island; and to that they directed all their Counsels. On Land indeed they seem'd sufficiently prosperous, for the two succeeding Consuls manag'd the War with good Success; but the *Carthaginians* without Controversie being entire Masters at Sea, by that means procur'd the Maritime Towns to revolt to them: so that the War was not only poised between the two Interests, but *Italy* was also sorely infested with the *Carthaginian* Fleet, while *Africk* was out of all Danger. These Considerations made 'em diligently to apply themselves to Sea Affairs, which they were wholly ignorant of before; therefore they found it a Matter of extraordinary Dif-

ficulty as well to build Vessels as to make use of 'em ; for *Italy* had been as free from Shipwrights as from Sea-men. So they set about 100 Vessels of five Oars of a side, and 20 of three, which they fitted out as well as they cou'd, after an odd way, teaching their Men to Row upon dry Land, well knowing that their Courages must supply all other Defects.

Thus meanly rigg'd out, in the fourth Year of this War, the Consuls *Cornelius* and *Duilius* boldly ventur'd themselves aboard, and more boldly ventur'd to engage an Enemy, who for many Ages had been the Inheritors of the Dominion of the Sea both by their Power and their Skill. *Cornelius* the Admiral parting from the rest of his Company with 17 Gallies to reduce *Lipara*, was surpriz'd by a greater number of the *Carthaginians*, and taken with the rest of his Fleet : But his Colleague *Duilius* was much more successful, first defeating 50 Sail of the Enemy, then falling upon the rest of their Fleet, by the Help of a new invented Engine to grapple with their Vessels, by which they cou'd board 'em and fight as on Land, he got a great Victory over 'em, taking 50 of their Vessels ; then pursuing it, rais'd the Siege of *Segesta*, and took *Macella* by Storm. These Successes were so unexpected by the Senate, that they decreed *Duilius* unusual Honours ; for besides his obtaining the Glory of the first Naval Triumph, he was ever after attended from Supper with Musick and Flambeaus. *Annibal* on the other side, to secure himself from Punishment, with all speed sent one of his Friends to *Carthage* before the Battel was known here, who gave an Account to the Senate, that the *Romans* were under Sail with a great Fleet, and he wanted Instructions about engaging 'em. The Senate, upon this, gave Orders to Fight without Delay, to whom the Messenger reply'd, *That he had already fought, and was overthrown* : By which means he prevented their condemning an Action they had but just before approv'd of.

This

This Year the *Romans* had but small Success by Land, for a Quarrel between the Legions and the Auxiliaries occasion'd a Separation; which Advantage *Amilcar* the General of the *Carthaginian* Forces so far improv'd, as to cut off 4000 of 'em. But the Advantages gain'd by Sea so far animated the *Romans*, that the next Year they invaded the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and with so good Success, that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* General there was slain, and his Army cut off by *Cornelius Scipio* the Consul. This Victory was seconded by another over *Annibal*, whom they surpriz'd at Sea, newly recruited from *Carthage*; for which the unfortunate Admiral was crucify'd by his own Soldiers that out-liv'd the Defeat. The next Year many Towns were lost and gain'd in *Sicily* on both sides; but above all, a noble Action of *Calpurnius Flemma*, a Tribune of the Army, was most remarkable; for *Attilius Calatinus* the Consul having carelessly brought his Army into such a desperate Place as there was no hopes of escaping, *Calpurnius*, with 300 choice Men, possess'd themselves of an Eminence just by, and with incredible Courage so diverted the whole Body of the *Carthaginians*, that the Consul's Army had time to pass with little Opposition. *Calpurnius* was the only Person that surviv'd of the 300, being miserably wounded, and cover'd with dead Bodies. The next Year, *Attilius Regulus* the Consul subdued the Islands *Lipara* and *Melita*, the latter famous for the Shipwrack of *S. Paul*, and since call'd *Malta*: in which Year certain Prodigies in *Rome*, or the Belief of such, occasion'd the creating of a Dictator, for the celebrating the *Latin* Holidays; and this was *Ogulneius Gallus*, his Master of the Horse being *Letorius Plancianus*.

Dis. Iv.
U. C.
 496.

II. Now had this War continu'd eight Years; when the *Romans*, finding themselves so strong by Sea as well as Land, resolv'd to remove the Seat of the

U. C.
 497.

the War into *Africk*; and accordingly put to Sea with a Fleet of 330 Sail, under the Command of the Consuls *Regulus* and *Manlius*. The *Carthaginians*, being sensible how necessary it was to keep the War from their own Doors, oppos'd 'em with a Fleet of 350 Sail, and a threefold Battel was fought on the same Day, in which the *Romans*, by the Help of their Grappling Engines and their undaunted Courages, became Conquerours, taking 54 Ships with all their Men, and sinking 30, losing themselves but 24 without their Men. In pursuance of this Victory, they made a Descent upon *Africk*, whose highest Part was about 200 Miles from *Sicily*, and presently had *Clupea* surrender'd to 'em, a City seated upon the Promontory *Hermæa*. This done, they march'd into the Country, laying waste all before 'em, which they did without Opposition; but soon after they receiv'd Instructions from the *Senate*, that *Regulus* should remain in *Africk*, in Character of *Pro-Consul*, with 40 Ships, 15000 Foot and 500 Horse, and *Manlius* shou'd return to *Rome* with the remaining Forces. *Regulus* encamping upon the River *Bagrada*, was forc'd to engage a monstrous Serpent of miraculous Bigness, which with the great Trouble of his Army, and by the Help of Battering Engines, he slew, sending its Skin to *Rome*, which was 120 Foot long.

The *Carthaginians*, finding the *Romans* so successful, oppos'd *Regulus* with a considerable Army; but fighting in a Place where their Horse and Elephants cou'd do but little Service, were soon defeated, and *Tunetum* or *Tunis* in a little time was taken by *Regulus*. But the *Carthaginians* having got *Xanippus*, a brave *Lacedæmonian*, for their General, soon after gave *Regulus* a terrible Overthrow, he himself being taken Prisoner, and most of his Army cut off, the rest escaping to *Clupea*. But *Xanippus* met with harder Usage than *Regulus*; for the *Carthaginians* pretending to conduct him home honourably, commanded the
Sea-men

Sea-men to throw him and his Companions overboard, least so great a Victory shou'd be ascrib'd to the *Lacedamonians*, as *Appian* has it. The *Romans* were besieg'd in *Clupea*, till their Enemies perceiving there was little Hopes of reducing 'em, broke up the Siege, and made all Preparations for the opposing the Succours sent under *Emilius Paulus* and *Fabius Nobilior*, the following Year's Consuls. These Consuls putting to Sea with 350 Sail, were met with by the *Carthaginians*, nigh their own Coasts, whom they entirely defeated, taking 30 Ships and sinking 104, with the Loss only of nine of their own. After this, the Consuls took in the *Roman* Garrison from *Clupea*, and set Sail again for *Sicily*, expecting to have several Towns there surrender'd to 'em upon the News of this Victory; but before they cou'd make the Shore, there arose such a dreadful Storm, that most of their Ships were swallow'd up or split upon Rocks; so that the Shore was fill'd with dead Bodies and broken Pieces of Ships. Both the Consuls perish'd, and those few that escap'd, *Hiero* kindly receiv'd; and furnishing 'em with Cloaths and other Necessaries, convey'd 'em safe to *Messana*.

Karthalo the *Carthaginian* immediately taking Advantage of this Disaster, besieg'd *Aggrigentum*, and soon after took it, and demolish'd the Fortifications of it. The *Romans* nothing discourag'd at the great Losses sustained by the Tempest, immediately set about building 220 Vessels, which they prosecuted with that Diligence and Expedition, that in three Months time they were both built and launch'd. On the other side, *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian* with his Veterane Troops and Levies arriv'd at *Sicily*, with a Fleet of 200 Sail old and new. The Consuls *Attilius* and *Cornelius* being order'd for *Sicily* this Year, manag'd the War so well as to take several Towns; after which they return'd. Their Successors *Servilius* and *Sempronius*, in the following Spring, pass'd into
Sicily

Sicily with the whole Fleet, and from thence to *Africk*, where Coasting about, they landed in many Places, but did nothing very memorable. At last they touch'd upon the Island of the *Lorophagi* call'd *Meninx*, nigh the lesser *Syrtis*; where, being ignorant of these Coasts, they fell upon certain Quick-sands; but getting off with much Difficulty, they return'd to *Panormus* in *Sicily* in a flying Posture. Then sailing for *Rome*, through the Straights, very unadvisedly, they were taken in a Storm, and 150 of the Ships lost. This same Year the *Censors* calling over the Senate, turn'd out 13 Members for Misdemeanours, and performing the *Lustrum*, 297797 Free Citizens were poll'd.

Tho' the Senate and People of *Rome* were extremely vigorous in all great Attempts, being push'd on by an extraordinary desire of Glory; yet the Losses at Sea had now been so great and many, that they were constrain'd to omit Naval Preparations, and place all their Hopes in their Land-Forces. *Cacilius* and *Metellus* were sent into *Sicily*, with the Legions, and 60 Transport Vessels, only for Necessaries; and they did not only yield the Dominion of the Sea to the *Carthaginians*, but fear'd 'em also at Land, by reason of their great Preparations, but especially for their Elephants, which had oftentimes much annoy'd 'em. *Asdrubal*, the *Punick* General, understanding their Fears, and that one of the Consuls was now return'd into *Italy* with half the Army, with great Assurance and Confidence ravag'd all the Country about *Panormus*, and with the more Carelessness and Security, because *Metellus* kept himself within the Walls. But the Consul taking an Opportunity, so well plac'd his Men against the Elephants, that when *Asdrubal* came nigh the Town, he gave him a terrible Overthrow, killing 20000 Men, and took 26 Elephants, for which he had a noble Triumph. The *Carthaginians* immediately lost all *Sicily* except *Lily-*
baum

baum and *Drepanum*, to the former of which Places *Asdrubal* escap'd; but being condemn'd at *Carthage*, he was taken and put to death as soon as he return'd.

III. The *Carthaginians* now finding themselves great Losers, and weary'd out with a tedious War, which had now continued 14 Years, began to solicit for Peace, and sent to the Senate to treat about it: With the Embassadors, *Regulus* also was sent, who had been five Years Prisoner, and was now bound with an Oath to return to *Carthage*, in case there was no Peace nor Exchange of Prisoners made. *Regulus*, contrary to the Expectation of all, openly in the Senate, discovered the Weakness of the *Carthaginians*, and advised the *Romans* to make no Peace, shewing withall, both how honourable and profitable it might be to the State to prosecute the War. The Senate seem'd well satisfied with the Advice, if it were to be follow'd without Prejudice to the Adviser, whom they pity'd as well as admir'd, and cou'd not determine any thing to the Ruin of a Person who had deserv'd so well at their hands. Upon that Account they desir'd him to stay; but he, with an undaunted Resolution, told 'em, *That he knew that Death and the extreamest Tortures were preparing for him at Carthage, but still he cou'd not comply with their Requests, who might have better us'd their Commands, had he been still his Countries Servant as he was Africk's Slave, and upon that account not capable of living as became a Citizen of Rome: yet however he had so much of the Spirit of a Roman, that he cou'd do nothing that was base or dishonourable, and that he less fear'd the Tortures of a cruel Rack than the Shame of an infamous Action, because the former only touch'd the Body, whereas the latter pierc'd the Mind.*

All Means were us'd to perswade *Regulus* to stay, both by his Friends and others, which he avoided as much

V. C.
503.

much as possible, refusing to speak with his Wife, and shunning the Embraces and Kisses of his little Children; and when the Negotiation was at an end, he return'd to *Carthage*, there ending his Days in great Torments. For, first they cut off his Eye-lids, keeping him in a dark Dungeon for a while, then brought him out in the midst of the Day, with his Face turn'd full against the Sun: At last he was put into a Chest or Barrel, stuck with Nails with the Points inward, and so narrow, that he cou'd have no Ease, where he died with the Extremity of the Pain. When the Senate heard of the barbarous Usage of *Regulus*, they deliver'd up some Prisoners of the greatest Note and Quality to *Marcia* his Wife, who shut 'em up in an Armory stuck round with Iron Spikes, designing to torment them after the same manner that her Husband had been, and keeping 'em five Days together without Meat: in which time *Bostar* the *Carthaginian*, with Pain and Hunger, died, but *Hamilear*, being a stronger Man, was kept in, together with the dead Body of *Bostar*, five Days longer, having only so much Sustenance allow'd him as might serve to prolong his Life in Misery. At last, the Magistrates being inform'd of this, strictly forbid any more of such Usage, and commanded that *Bostar's* Ashes shou'd be sent home, and the rest of the Prisoners shou'd be us'd more moderately: Which was done to let the Enemy know, that the Romans were too generous to insult over the Miseries of unhappy Men, or to countenance any cruel Actions, tho' they had been incited by the highest Provocations, and all the Sentiments of a most just Retaliation.

The following Year, because the Land-Forces were very fearful of the Enemies Elephants, and pursu'd their Business with small Vigour, the Romans provided another Fleet, and besieg'd *Lilybaum* by Sea and Land, a Town standing upon the Southern Promontory of *Sicily* over against *Africk*. The Romans were very

very unsuccessful in this Expedition, losing most of their Ships in a little time, partly by the Mismanagement of the Consul *Claudius Pulcher*, and partly by other Misfortunes; so that the whole Fleet was soon brought to nothing. *Lilybaeum* was still closely invested by Land; but the little Successes of the present Consuls, and other Losses, occasion'd the creating of a *Dictator* to Command the Forces in *Sicily*: This was *Artilius Calatinus*, who appointed *Cacilius Metellus*, who had triumph'd over the *Carthaginians*, for his *Master of the Horse*, and was the first *Dictator* that ever led an Army out of *Italy*; but nothing memorable was done by him in *Sicily* before the time of his Office expir'd. The *Romans* now began to feel the Weight and Charge of the War more than ever; and they found that the City was not only drain'd of Money, but of Men too; for in the next *Lustrum* there were but 251 222 Free Citizens poll'd.

Dic. lvi.

U. C.

504

For seven Years did the *Romans* keep from any Sea-Preparations, in which time another *Dictator* was created in the Consuls Absence for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election, which was *Coruncanius Nepos*, and his *Master of the Horse* was *Fulvius Flaccus*. Now did *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, extreamly infest the Coasts of *Italy*; which made the *Romans* resolve once more to try their Fortune at Sea: and accordingly they fitted out a considerable Navy out of their private Purfes, the Treasury being now exhausted. With this they gave the *Carthaginians* a notable Overthrow nigh the *Aegatian* Isles, taking and sinking 120 of their Ships, according to the most modest Computation. This great Loss brought 'em to a Peace, which after two Consultations was concluded upon these Articles; First, That the *Carthaginians* shou'd lay down 1000 *Talents* of Silver, and 2200 more within 10 Years time: Secondly, That they shou'd quit *Sicily*, with all the Isles thereabouts: Thirdly, That they shou'd never make War upon the *Syracusians*

Dic. lviii.

U. C.

507.

or

or their Allies, nor come with any Vessels of War within the Roman Dominions : and Fourthly, That they shou'd deliver up all their Prisoners without Ransome, as also the Deserters. Thus ended the first Punick or Carthaginian War, after it had continu'd 24 Years, in the 513th Year of the City, 23 Years before the Second, and 239 before our Saviour's Nativity ; where in the Romans are said to have lost 700 Vessels, and the Carthaginians no more than 300.

V. C. 513. Tribes en-
creas'd the
last time.

IV. All things now seem'd to succeed prosperously with the Romans, and in the same Year that this long War was ended, two new Tribes were added to the rest, namely, the *Veline* and *Quirine*, which now made up the Number 35, which Number was never after exceeded. Now the Romans began to grow more polite, a little applying their Minds to something of Study and Learning, particularly Poetry ; and the

V. C. 514. First Tra-
gedies and
Comedies
in Rome.

Year after this War, the first Tragedies and Comedies were made by *Livius Andronicus*, a Grecian by Birth, one Year before *Ennius* the Poet was born, about 160 after the Deaths of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and 62 after that of *Menander*. He drew the Minds of the People from the Use of the Satyr, which had immediately succeeded the old Stage-Plays call'd *Ludi Fescennini*, spoken of in the sixth Chapter of this Book ; which Satyr was a sort of a Dramatick Poem, full of Jest and Raillery, quite different from the Satyrs of *Lucilius* and *Horace* afterwards. *Naevius* was the first Poet that follow'd his Example, five Years after, the Year before which were celebrated the great Secular Games the third time, which were also call'd *Ludi magni* and *Ludi Terentini*, and were of two sorts : the Greater, celebrated every 110 Years, and first instituted in the 298th Year of the City ; and the Lesser, celebrated every 100 Year, and first instituted about the 305th Year of the City, after the Banishment of the *Decemviri* : But these now celebrated

Ludi Saculares.

were

were of the former sort. There were also other Games call'd *Ludi Terentini*, which were quite different from the *Ludi Seculares*, which I mention that Learners may avoid Confusion.

But to return to the Matter in hand ; the *Carthaginians*, soon after their Peace with the *Romans*, fell into a bloody War between themselves and their Mercenary Soldiers, which proceeded both from their Want of Pay, and their Want of Employment ; and this, with much Difficulty and Loss, was ended by *Amilcar*, after more than three Years. During which time, several of the *Romans* who traded into *Africk* were secur'd by the *Carthaginians*, lest they shou'd furnish their Enemies with Provisions. But when Ambassadors were sent to *Carthage* to complain of this Usage, they kindly dismiss'd all that were in Custody ; which so affected the *Romans*, that they generously sent 'em all their Prisoners without Ransom, and for a while there seem'd to be an extraordinary Friendship between these two Nations. But soon after their Troubles were ended, the *Sardinians* inviting over the *Romans* to that Island, they sail'd thither, which much offended the *Carthaginians*, who thought themselves to have the greatest Right to it ; so they prepar'd to send Forces thither. The *Romans* took an Occasion from thence to proclaim War against 'em, complaining, *That these Preparations were design'd more against them than the Sardinians*. This so frighted the *Carthaginians*, who found themselves in no Condition to begin a new War, that they were forc'd to yield to Necessity, and not only quit all *Sardinia*, but further, to pay the *Romans* 1200 Talents. This, tho' submitted to at present, prov'd afterwards the Occasion of a more bloody and dangerous War than the former. In the sixth Year after the *Carthaginian* War, all things being in perfect Peace, the Temple of *Janus* was shut the second time, it being open 437 Years. In the following

Dic. lvi. following Year was the first Divorce in Rome; and
 U. C. two Years after a *Dictator* was created for holding
 522. the *Comitia*, and this was C. *Dulius*, his *Master of*
the Horse being *Aurelius Cottus*.

For five Years the Temple of *Janus* continued shut, and in the sixth was open'd by a War with the *Illyrians*, a People nigh *Greece* who inhabited that Country which is now call'd *Dalmatia*: for *Tenta* Queen of that Nation, elevated by her Prosperity in Peace, gave her Subjects Commission to rob all they met with at Sea; some of which happened to be Merchants of *Italy*, whom they used very barbarously. Upon Intelligence of this, the *Romans* dispatch'd two Ambassadors, *Caius* and *Lucius Cornucanus*, to *Illyricum*, to demand Satisfaction. *Tenta* told 'em, That she wou'd take care that no publick Injury shou'd be offer'd to the *Romans*, but she thought it was never the Custom of Princes to hinder their Subjects from making what private Advantage they cou'd from the Sea. But *Lucius* smartly told her, That the *Romans* had learn'd a better Custom, which was to punish private Injuries with a publick Revenge, and to relieve the Distressed; and they, by the help of the Gods, would take care to reform her Princely Customs. The Queen took this Freedom so hainously, that, contrary to the Law of Nations, she sent after the Ambassadors, and slew *Lucius*. This so enrag'd the *Romans*, that War was immediately proclaim'd against her, and the two Consuls sent to *Illyricum*, *Fulvius* with a Fleet, and *Posthumius* with a Land Army. *Fulvius* had *Corcyra* surrender'd to him at first, and soon after took *Apollonia*; then the Armies joyning, the Consuls reliev'd *Dyrrhachium*, which was invested by the *Illyrians*. Soon after most of the *Illyrick* Towns were surrender'd to the Consuls; whereupon the Queen retir'd with a few Followers to *Rhizon*, a strong Town, and the Spring after, sent to *Rome* to beg Peace; which was granted upon these Terms: First, To pay a yearly Tribute:
 Secondly,

Secondly, To quit all *Illyricum*, except a very few Places: and Thirdly, Not to Sail beyond the River *Quissus* with more than two Barks, and those unarm'd. Thus ended the first *Illyrian War*, in less than two Years time.

V. These Wars in *Illyricum* still increas'd the Roman Dominions, and their generous Behaviour gain'd 'em as much Love as their Valour had got 'em Reputation in those Parts, particularly among the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; the latter of which pass'd a Decree in Honour of 'em, which made 'em free of the *Isthmian Games*, one of the four solemn Exercises of *Greece*. And this same Year were the *Prators* increas'd to four, one being sent to the Province of *Sicily*, and another to that of *Sardinia*. In the mean time Domestick Quarrels about the Division of Lands taken from the *Gauls*, awakened that Nation, who began to conclude that the *Romans* fought more out of Covetousness than Glory. These fierce People, now joyn'd in Confederacy, sent over the *Alps* for other *Gauls* call'd *Gessata* nigh the River *Rhosne*, who came over with a vast Force, and joyning with the rest, made an Irruption into *Hetruria* with an Army of 50000 Foot and 20000 Horse. The *Romans* to oppose 'em made the greatest Preparations that had been known, all *Italy* being up in Arms to the number of seven or eight hundred thousand Men, which were plac'd in several Parts, to be in readiness upon all Occasions: And the Consuls themselves led a particular Army of 50800 Foot and 4200 Horse.

The *Gauls* now entring *Hetruria*, wasted all with Fire and Sword till they came to *Clusium*, about three Days Journey from *Rome*; where they were block'd up by the *Romans*, the *Prator* on their Back, and the *Consuls* before possessing themselves of all the Passes: So that they were forc'd to form two Fronts, and fight very disadvantageously, both by reason of their

Prat. en-
creas'd.
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527.

Nakedness and the Unfitness of their Arms. But the Vanity of the *Gessata* did 'em the greatest Damage, for they throwing off their Cloaths, would needs fight naked, and begin the first Charge; and these being easily broken, so discourag'd the rest, that all fled. The *Gauls* were miserably slaughter'd, 40000 of 'em being kill'd, and 10000 taken Prisoners; among the rest, *Concolitanus*, a King of the *Gessata*. The Consuls obtain'd a most splendid Triumph for this Victory, scarce any being more remarkable for the Number of the Prisoners, or the Variety and Value of the Spoils. The next Year great Inroads were made into the Territories of the *Gauls*, they being several times overthrown: At which time the *Con-*
Die. lix. *suls* being abroad, a *Dictator* was created to hold the
U. C. *Comitia* for a new Election; which was *Cacilius Me-*
 530. *tellus*, and *Fabius Buteo* his *Master of the Horse* or Lieutenant.

The *Gauls* were now so harass'd and weakned, that they sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to beg Peace on any Terms; but *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cornelius Scipio* put a stop to the thing, and incited the Multitude to continue the War. Whereupon the *Gauls*, now grown desperate, resolv'd to make their last Tryal, and procur'd 30000 Auxiliaries from the *Gessata*. The Consuls march'd into the Country of the *Insubres*, and open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Acerra*; whereupon the *Gauls* invested *Clastidium*, a Confederate Town of the *Romans*. *Marcellus*, with two Thirds of his Cavalry and a small Detachment of light arm'd Foot-men, march'd both Night and Day towards the Enemy; and notwithstanding the great Inequality of the Numbers, and the Fatigues of the long Marches, he fell upon 'em, and after a bloody Battel overthrew 'em. *Marcellus* with his
U. C. own Hands kill'd *Viridomarus* King of the *Gessata*, and
 532. dedicated the third *Opima Spolia* or Royal Spoils to *Jupiter Feretrius*, obtaining likewise a noble Triumph.
 Those

Those that escap'd fled to *Mediolanum*, now call'd *Milan*, the chief City of the *Insubrian Gauls*, which being in a little time taken, the *Gallick War* was ended after six Years Continuance, to the considerable Enlargement of the *Roman Dominions*, Colonies being planted not long after at *Cremona* and at *Placentia*.

About this time, a Multitude of *Libertini* or Freed Slaves, which liv'd dispers'd among all the *Tribes*, gave great Disturbances to the City; which occasion'd the *Censors* at the next *Lustrum* to confine all these to four *Tribes*, namely, *Esquilina*, *Palatina*, *Suburrana*, and *Collina*; at which time were also 270213 Free Citizens cens'd. In the same Censorship *C. Flaminius* one of the *Censors* built a *Cirque*, and pav'd the Highway as far as *Arminum* 130 Miles, both which great Works were afterwards call'd by his Name. Within a Year after the *Illyrians* revolting, were reduc'd by *Emilius* and *Livius* the *Consuls*, tho' with some Trouble. But the greatest Concern the *Romans* had now, was the successful Progress of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, who now had gain'd a great Part of that Country, and more than all, had taken *Saguntus* a Town in Alliance with *Rome*, after they were desir'd to desist. This caus'd the *Romans* to send their Ambassadors to *Carthage*, to require their General *Hannibal* to be deliver'd up; and if that were not granted, to denounce War. The Ambassadors finding the *Carthaginians* very little inclin'd to give any Satisfaction, the Senior of 'em holding out the Skirt of his Robe, told the Senate, *Here we bring you War or Peace; chuse which you please*. The Chief of the other answer'd, *Deliver which you will*: the *Roman* replying *War*, the other accepted of it. And thus began the Second *Punick* or *Carthaginian War*, in the 536th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3787, in the 3d Year of the 140th *Olympiad*, 291 Years since the beginning of the *Consular State*, 172 since the De-

V. C.
534.

struction of the City by the *Gauls*, 112 since the Beginning of the *Macedonian Empire* by *Alexander*, and 216 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. X.

From the Beginning of the second Punick War, to the Finishing of it by Scipio Africanus; when the Romans became perfect in the Arts of War.

Containing the Space of 17 Years.

U. C.
536.

I. **T**HE War being broke out a second time between these two Rival Nations, the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, the latter committed the Management of it to *Hannibal*, *Amilcar's* Son, now in *Spain*, a Person of wonderful Abilities as to War, both for Prudence and Valour, of a hardy, laborious, and indefatigable Body, as well as a fierce, daring, and undaunted Mind. This General was a mortal Enemy to the *Romans*; and having over-run all *Spain* to the *Pyreanean* Mountains, he resolv'd to run any Danger, or Hazard, so he might procure the Ruin of the *Roman* State; therefore leaving *Hanno* with a sufficient Force to guard that Country, he cross'd the *Pyreanean* Mountains into *Gaul* with an Army of 50000 Foot and 9000 Horse, of different Nations and Languages. From whence he shortly pass'd the *Rhosne* with great Danger and Difficulty, the River being there vast and swift, and its Banks cover'd with many Enemies. In ten Days March from thence, he arriv'd at the Foot of the *Alps*, over which he resolv'd

solv'd to pass into *Italy*, notwithstanding the Lateness of the Season, the Fears of his Men, his Ignorance of the Ways, the Labour of the March, and all the numerous Perils and Hazards that attended so vast an Enterprize.

It was now Winter time, and every thing appear'd strange and dreadful, the prodigious Height of the Mountains, cap'd with Snows; the rude mis-shapen Cottages on the sides of vast steep Rocks; the Cartel, Sheep, and Horses parch'd and stiff with Cold; the People barbarous, and with long shagged Hair like Savages, and nothing to be seen but a general Scene of Deformity and Horrour. The Soldiers in this March, besides their Fears, were extreamly afflicted with the Greatness of the Colds, and sorely harass'd by the narrow Defiles, the slippery Passages, and the craggy Rocks, but more especially by the Inhabitants, who from their lurking Places did often fall upon 'em with great Slaughter; and sometimes by their unusual Shouts and Outcries, which were redoubled by the Echo's between the Rocks and Valleys, their Horses were so affrighted, as that they frequently overthrew themselves, Men and Carriages, down these narrow Precipices, who falling from one Rock to another, made a horrible rumbling, as if it were the Fall of some Castle or great Building. Nevertheless, after nine Days painful March through these untrodden Paths, *Hannibal* at last got to the Top of these vast Mountains, where he rested his Men, and encourag'd their fainting Minds by a distant Prospect of *Italy*, telling 'em, *That now they had mounted not only the Walls of Italy, but those of Rome too.*

After two Days Respite among these dismal Places, the Army mov'd forward, and were forc'd to encounter with new Difficulties; for vast Quantities of Snow being lately fallen, as many Men were lost in the depth of that, as had been before by the Enemies

mies Encounters. And now a sort of Despair appear'd in almost every Man's Face but *Hannibal's*, who still remain'd unshaken, inciting 'em forward till they arriv'd at a Place, which was a rocky Precipice, where the Earth had lately fallen away to the depth of 1000 Foot; so that it was impossible to pass with Elephants or Horses. Whereupon he endeavour'd to bring his Men through other unknown Ways; but finding the Snow had made 'em impassable, he was forc'd to betake himself to the levelling the Rock. In order to that, great Numbers of huge Trees were fell'd, and a mighty Pile made against it and set on fire; when the Rock was red-hot, they soften'd and putrify'd it with Vinegar, and then with vast Labour cleav'd it, lessening the Descent by such moderate Turnings, that not only the Beasts of Burden, but the Elephants also, might safely pass. Four Days Toil was employ'd about this Rock, the Beasts the mean while being almost starv'd, having had very little Sustenance all that time. But coming lower, certain Valleys afforded Pasture, where the Cattel were refresh'd, and Rest allow'd the weary Soldiers. From thence *Hannibal* descended into the Plains, having been 15 Days in passing the *Alps*, it being now the 5th Month after his setting out from *New Carthage*, which was a City built by *Asdrubal* in *Spain*. At his Arrival in the Country of the *Insubres*, he found his Army reduc'd to about 18000 Foot and 6000 Horse, according to *Polybius*, having lost most of 'em upon the *Alps*.

Scipio the Consul hearing of *Hannibal's* March, hast'ned to meet him, before his Men were well refresh'd. Both Armies met at *Ticenum* (now *Pavia*) in which Battel the Consul being wounded, was sav'd by the great Valour of his young Son afterwards call'd *Africanus*, and in a little time was routed, especially by the means of the *Numidian* Cavalry, who unexpectedly fell upon his Rear. Soon after

after this Defeat, *Sempronius* the other Consul out of *Sicily* joyn'd *Scipio* at the River *Trebia*. *Sempronius* having been successful in some Skirmishes, resolv'd to give the Enemy Battel, tho' *Scipio* was much against it, who was now laid up of his Wounds. Upon the high Approach of these Armies, *Hannibal* convey'd 1000 choice Horse into a private Place, and another Party he sent to brave the *Romans* before they cou'd provide against the Extremity of the Weather by Meat or Drink; so that engaging with Cold and Hunger, passing the River up to the Arm-pits, and being unexpectedly charg'd both in Front and Rear, they were defeated, tho' not without great Slaughter of the Enemy, through whose Ranks 10000 desperately broke, and escap'd to *Placentia*, 26000 being either slain, taken, or drown'd in the River. The *Carthaginians* having done what they cou'd in pursuing, retir'd to their Camp so stupify'd with Cold, that they were scarcely sensible of their Victory; for Rain mixt with Snow, and intolerable Cold, kill'd many of their Men, and almost all their Beasts and Elephants. Thus *Hannibal* was now as successful in his Battels, as before he had been daring in his Marches, the *Romans* never having met with a more formidable Enemy, or a more expert General.

II. The Loss of these two Battels made the *Romans* the more diligent in the Preparations for the next Campaign; for the Managing of which, *C. Flaminius* and *Servilius Geminus* were chosen Consuls: The former of these had a good Faculty of Speaking, but no great Skill in War. *Hannibal* having all this while kept in the Country of the *Gauls*, now resolv'd to change the Seat of the War, and march into *Hetruria*; and after some Consultation about the Way thither, he fixt upon that of the Fens, as short and unexpected to the Enemy, tho' more difficult to pass. Here they found a miserable Passage, being forc'd to march

V. C.
537.

march three or four whole Days through nothing but Water, without any Sleep or Rest, which sorely distress'd his Men; many of the Beasts were left dead in the Mud, and the Hoofs came off the Horses Feet. *Hannibal* himself riding upon an Elephant, which was the only one left alive, escap'd with his Life, but got a grievous Pain in his Eyes, and lost one of them entirely. Being at last got upon dry ground, and understanding *Flaminius's* fiery Temper, the better to entrap him, he pass'd by his Camp, and march'd farther into the Country, wasting it with Fire and Sword. This enrag'd *Flaminius*, who thought himself slighted by the Enemy; and when he was advised by some To use great Caution, and not rashly pursue, especially by reason of the Enemies Cavalry, but above all things to stay for the Conjunction of his Colleague's Forces, he cou'd by no means bear their Words; but rising with all his Troops, he began his March, as if nothing had been more certain than the Victory, his Army being follow'd with a greater number of Rabble laden with Chains, Bonds, and the like, for the Prisoners and Booty.

Hannibal was now at a Lake call'd *Thrasymene*, nigh which were certain Mountains, and between them and the Lake was a narrow Passage leading to a Valley just by, encompass'd with a Ridge of Hills. These Hills *Hannibal* made choice of, placing and disposing his Men round about, so that when *Flaminius* follow'd him into the Valley, he was immediately hemm'd in, and fallen upon on all sides, to the cutting off of his whole Army, and the loss of his own Life; and this was done almost before they cou'd see who hurt them, by reason of a Mist which was risen from the Lake. About 15000 of the Romans fell in the Valley, and 6000 escap'd to a Village, where they were forc'd to yield themselves Prisoners. *Hannibal* gathering all his Prisoners together, to the number of 15000, kept the Romans, but dismiss'd

dismiss'd the *Latins* without Ransome; and he sought also for the Consul's Body to bury it, but cou'd not find it. Now *Servilius* the other Consul, who lay at *Ariminum*, hearing of *Hannibal's* March into *Hetruria*, with all speed detach'd a Party of 4000 Men, commanded by *Centinius*, to joyn *Flaminius*, if possible, before the Battel. *Hannibal* hearing of this Supply, immediately after his Victory, detach'd out a sufficient Party under *Maharbal*, who cut off one half of the *Romans*, and forc'd the rest to a Hill, where they yielded themselves Prisoners.

The *Romans* were now in a great Consternation at these vast Losses, and upon mature Deliberation, they found it necessary to have a General with absolute Authority; whereupon they resolv'd upon a *Dictator*, which was *Fabius Maximus*, a Person of extraordinary Wisdom and Experience, in whom was a happy Mixture of Caution and Boldness. He made choice of *Minutius Rufus* for his *Master of the Horse*, who was of a Temper more hot and violent than himself. Having made what Preparations he cou'd, he set forward to meet *Hannibal*, with little Intention to fight him, but rather to wait his Motions, straiten his Quarters, and cut off his Provisions, which he knew wou'd be the most effectual way to ruin him, in a Country so far from his own. He always encamp'd on the highest Grounds, free from the Insults of the Enemies Cavalry, still keeping pace with 'em; when they march'd he follow'd 'em, when they encamp'd he did the same, but at such a distance as not to be forc'd to engage; by which means he gave them no Rest, but kept 'em in a continual Alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which got him the Name of *Cunctator*, made most Men suspect his Courage, except *Hannibal*, who was extremely troubled and concern'd at it, using all possible Artifices to make *Fabius* and his Actions become despicable, sometime by braving him in his Camp, and
other

Dic. lx.
 U. C.
 537.

other times by waisting the Country about. Soon after, *Hannibal* designing for *Casinum*, was by a mistake Conducted to *Casilinum* nigh *Campania*, where entering a Valley inviron'd with Mountains, *Fabius* detach'd 4000 Choice Men who possess'd themselves of the Entrance, and with another Party cut off 800 of his Rear, putting his whole Army into disorder, *Hannibal* finding himself block'd up, and in a dangerous Condition, one Night he ordered small Fagots and lighted Torches to be ty'd to the Horns of 2000 Oxen, which by their tossing their Horns and scattering the Fires, so frightened the Party that guarded the Entrance, that they quitted their Posts; and by this Stratagem, *Hannibal* drew off his Army, and escap'd, tho' with considerable Damage to his Rear.

This Action, tho' well manag'd by *Fabius*, gain'd him much ill Will, and *Hannibal* to improve their Hatred, ravag'd the Country about, but carefully spar'd *Fabius's* Lands, to render him suspected of a secret Correspondence with him. These Suspicions, and *Fabius's* want of Courage, as his Men believ'd, prov'd so prejudicial to him, that in his Absence soon after, *Minutius* having skirmish'd with some Success, procur'd so much Favour from the Multitude, that his Power was made equal with the Dictator's; which was a thing beyond all Example. *Minutius* was so exalted with his late Successes and this new Honour, that he resolv'd, contrary to all the Perswasions of *Fabius*, to engage *Hannibal* with his Part of his Army, which he did; where he was cunningly drawn in by *Hannibal* to a disadvantageous Place, and was nigh being routed, when *Fabius*, who had been a careful Observer of this Action from an Eminence in his Camp, came in, and falling upon the Enemy with extraordinary Skill and Courage, soon forc'd 'em to retreat, and sav'd *Minutius*. *Hannibal*, after this Battel, told his Friends, That he thought the Cloud which had so long hover'd upon the Mountains

Mountains wou'd some time or other break upon 'em with a Storm. As for *Minutius*, he was so far convinc'd of his former Rashness, that he confess'd his Errour to *Fabius*, whom he now call'd his Father, and renouncing his new Power again, subjected his Office freely to the *Dictatorship*.

Soon after *Fabius's* time was expir'd, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Consuls*, which was *Veturius Philo*, and *Pomponius Matho* was his *Master of the Horse*. The new *Consuls* were *Emilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro*, the former a prudent experienc'd Person, the latter a hot, rash, and inconsiderate Man. These had got together an Army of 80000 Foot and 6000 Horse, which gave great Hopes to the People, but rais'd as great Fears in some of the wiser sort, especially *Fabius*, who with all the powerful Arguments imaginable advis'd *Emilius*, To beware of the Policy of *Hannibal*, and the Rashness of *Varro*. Both Armies met at a Village in *Apulia* call'd *Canna*, where *Varro* resolv'd to engage contrary to *Emilius's* Advice, the Enemy being about 40000 Foot and 10000 Horse. This Battel was fought with dreadful Fury on both sides, and *Hannibal* had plac'd his Men with all possible Skill and Art, so that the *Romans* were not only forc'd to fight with Wind, Dust, and Sun, but pressing forwards, were in a little time almost surrounded. In short, the Abilities of the *Punic* General at this time were more apparent than ever, who more over-match'd them in Skill than they exceeded him in Numbers, making a most terrible Slaughter of the *Romans*, till quite wearied out, he commanded his Soldiers to give over. *Emilius* was found desperately wounded by *Lentulus* a Colonel, who offer'd him his Horse to fly; but the Consul with weeping Eyes desired him to make use of it himself, and go tell *Fabius* that he had follow'd his Directions to the last, but Fate had conquer'd him: and then falling among the dead Bodies,
he

Dic. lxi.
U. C.
558.

he died. In this Battel the *Romans* lost 50000 Men, 2 *Quaestors*, 21 *Tribunes*, 80 of *Senatorial* Order, and so many *Equites* or *Knights*, that 'tis said that three Bushels of their Rings were sent to *Carthage*; the Enemy having lost but 5700 Men.

Never was any thing so terrible and dreadful to *Rome* as the News of this lamentable Defeat; never was the City so sadly fill'd with Terroure and Tumult; and never was a more universal Mourning and Lamentation throughout all the Streets, than now. The Citizens were all in an Uproar and Consternation, and the *Senators* themselves in great Trouble and Confusion; being much disturb'd in their Debates by the dismal Outcries of Women tearing their Hair and beating their Breasts after a deplorable manner.

Dic. lxii. A Dictator upon this was created, which was *M. Junius*, his Master of the Horse being *T. Sempronius*,
U. C. and Order was immediately given to keep all the
 538. Women from coming abroad into the Streets, the *Senators* going about themselves to appease 'em what they cou'd. Great Care was likewise taken to set Guards at the Gates, to keep all Persons from abandoning the City; and to make all People see, That there cou'd be no Hopes of preserving themselves, but by bravely defending the Walls. In a little time *Varro* arriv'd at *Rome* with the tatter'd Relicts of his Army; and tho' he had been the principal Cause of this Defeat, yet the *Romans*, out of a Greatness of Mind, went out to meet him in Multitudes, and the Senate return'd him Thanks, for that he had not despair'd of the Commonwealth. Notwithstanding the vast Losses sustain'd by *Hannibal*, and the Revolt of a great part of *Italy* after this last Defeat, the *Romans* wou'd never so much as mention Peace; Whereas, as *Livy* says, No Nation under Heaven but wou'd have fainted, and have suffer'd themselves to have been overwhelm'd and crush'd with the weight of so mighty a Disaster.

III. Thus

III. Thus far was *Hannibal* extraordinary successful; and had he made the best use of this his last Victory by marching directly to *Rome*, he might in all Probability have put an end to the War and *Roman State* at once; but this great Soldier, as the Captain of his Horse told him, *knew perfectly how to gain a Victory, but not how to use and improve it.* For his careless manner of proceeding that Summer, gave the *Romans* an Opportunity of Recovering themselves when they were almost reduc'd to a despairing Condition: And now they were inspir'd with new Courage, and new Resolutions of prosecuting the War without Fainting; making all possible Preparations for another Campaign, arming of several thousands of Slaves, and filling up the Senate, which wanted 177 Persons: This last was done by *Fabius Buteo* a Dictator, Dic. lxiii
 created for that Purpose, without any Master of the U. C.
 Horse, and that before the last Dictator was out of 539.
 Office, who was then abroad. But that which prov'd most fatal to *Hannibal*, was, his Wintering in *Capua*, a most wealthy and luxurious City, which among many other Places had surrender'd it self to him since his last Victory. Here he utterly spoil'd an excellent and hardy Army, which now was so enfeebled and enervated by their immoderate Use of the Pleasures and Effeminateness of that Place, that ever after his Men became impatient of Labour and the ancient Military Discipline. And now *Hannibal's* Fortune began to change; for in the next Campaign, he was worsted in a Sally out of *Nola* by *Marcellus* the Praetor, and repuls'd at *Casilium* after he had brought the Place to great Extremities; and not long after *Marcellus* gave him a considerable overthrow nigh *Nola*, which gave the *Romans* mighty hopes of farther Successes.

In *Spain* the *Scipios* manag'd the War with great Success, overthrowing *Hanno* and gaining much Ground,

Ground, and likewise defeating *Asdrubal*, who but just before had been order'd by the Senate of *Carthage* to go for *Italy* and joyn *Hannibal*; which Design by this means was broke. In *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, tho' several Attempts were made by the *Carthaginians*, and some Revolts hapned, yet Things went on prosperously enough, especially in *Sardinia*, where a Bat-tel was fought, and 12000 *Carthaginians* kill'd, and many taken Prisoners, among whom were *Asdrubal*, *Hanno*, and *Mago*, all Persons of the highest Quality. *Rome* now had the Misfortune of having Enemies on all sides of her, and in all Parts of her Dominions and Territories, so that the Vigour and Diligence of her Inhabitants was certainly very admirable in sending Recruits and Supplies into *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, those distant Countries, with the same Care as against *Hannibal* himself. But what is a greater Instance of the *Roman* Courage, is their proclaiming War with *Philip* King of *Macedon* in *Greece*, not long after their dreadful Defeat at *Canna*, for his making a League with *Hannibal*, and their venturing to invade his Dominions, which they did with good Success. About this time, *Claudius Centho* was created Dic. lxiiv. Dictator for holding the *Comitia* in the Consul's Absence for a new Election, and his Master of the U. C. Horse was *Fulvius Flaccus*. 541.

The Affairs of *Sicily* were in a little time alter'd by the Death of *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, and the Murder of his Grandson *Hieronimus* not long after, which caus'd great Factions in that City. The prevailing Faction proving Enemies to *Rome*, *Marcellus* was sent thither, who besieg'd the great City of *Syracuse* by Sea and Land, but cou'd not storm it by all his Power, being perpetually hinder'd by the great Skill and Inventions of that excellent Mathematician *Archimedes*; who contriv'd such Engines as wou'd cast Stones of prodigious Bulk upon the *Romans*, and vast Beams upon their Ships, and dismount all their

their Battering Engines. He also set the *Roman* Ships upon one end, or overturn'd them, or hois'd 'em up into the Air, and after all the Men were fallen out, let 'em fall upon the Walls; by which means he became so terrible to the *Romans*, that *Marcellus* was forc'd to remove to a farther Distance, jeering his own Engineers, and calling *Archimedes*, *Briareus*. After some considerable Actions in *Sicily*, and after three Years Siege, *Marcellus* found Means to surprize the City on a great Festival of theirs, by reason of an ill-guarded Tower, and so became Master of it. *Marcellus* cou'd not forbear his Tears at the Destruction of such a glorious and magnificent City, which he endeavour'd, but could not prevent; but above all, the Death of *Archimedes* was the greatest Trouble to him; for he had given strict Command to his Men to preserve him. But this great Artist was at that time so extreemly busie about his Mathematical Speculations, that he took no Notice of the Noise and Uproar in the City, and so was kill'd by a Common Soldier before he suspected any Danger. His Body was honourably bury'd by *Marcellus's* Order, and vast Plunder was obtain'd by the Soldiers, besides many rich Works and great Rareties sent to *Rome*, the City being full of People, and 22 Miles in Compass.

The Wars in *Italy* were manag'd the same time with various Success, *Hannibal* had *Tarentum* betray'd to him, the Castle still holding out; and the *Romans* invested *Capua*, straitning it so much that they were forc'd to send to *Hannibal* for Relief. He made no great haste to relieve 'em, being very desirous to take the Castle first; but then considering how great a Disgrace the Loss of such a Place as *Capua* wou'd be, he broke up the Siege of *Tarentum*, and directed his March thither. *Hannibal* fell upon the *Romans* in their Trenches; and tho' he was assist-ed both by the Inhabitants and his own Garrison, he was repelled with Loss. Finding the Relief of the

P

Place

U. C.
542.

Place extream hazardous, he resolv'd to fall upon *Rome* it self, expecting that the very Name of such an Enterprize wou'd raise the Siege; upon that account he march'd directly that way. His Designs being heard of at *Rome*, the Citizens were variously inclin'd as to their Way of Security, some thinking all the Forces in *Italy* were to be sent for; but *Fabius* wou'd by no means hear of rising from before *Capua*: therefore a middle Way was taken, which was, to send for *Fulvius* the *Proconsul* from the Siege with 15000 Foot and 1000 Horse for the Defence of the City; which was speedily effected, *Hannibal* being now encamp'd about eight Miles from the City.

Hannibal in a short time decamp'd, and advanc'd to the River *Aniene*, three Miles from *Rome*, from whence with a Party of 2000 Horse he went to take a View of the City. *Flaccus*, much offended that he shou'd take such Liberty without Opposition, sent out a considerable Body of Horse, which falling upon him, forc'd him to retreat. The next Day, and the Day following, *Hannibal* on one side, and *Flaccus* with the Consuls on the other, drew out all their Forces for a general Battel; but on both those Days there happen'd such great Storms of Hail and Rain, that the Armies cou'd not joyn; but after they had retir'd to their Camps, the Weather prov'd fair and calm. This struck the *Carthaginians* with a Religious Awe, and made *Hannibal* to say, *That one while his Mind, another time his Fortune, wou'd not suffer him to become Master of that mighty City*. Whereupon he decamp'd, and march'd to the River *Turia*, from thence to the Lake of *Feronia*, where he plunder'd a Temple of that Goddess, proceeding in this outrageous Manner through the Countries of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*; which Cruelty lost him much Credit, and did him as much Injury. *Flaccus* return'd to the Siege of *Capua*, which soon after was surrender'd, the Heads of the Revolt being put to death,
and

and the common sort sold. This City, being situated in so good a Soil, was reserv'd for the Use of all sorts of Plowmen, Labourers and Artificers, without any Shew of Government of its own as it had formerly. This happen'd in the 7th Year of this War, and 543d of the City.

In *Spain*, the War had been carry'd on all this time with great Vigour, the *Romans* being for the most part Conquerours, killing in one Battel 37000 Men; but in this last Year, *Claudius Nero* the Governour of *Spain* was much impos'd upon by the Treachery of *Asdrubal*, and another Governour was order'd to succeed him, both the *Scipio's* having been slain not long before in *Spain*. A *Comitia* was held for the creating a *Proconsul* for *Spain*, but none appear'd to stand for that Office, well perceiving the Hazards and Difficulties of such a War, which caus'd a great Sadness among the People. Whereupon young *Scipio*, a Noble Youth, under 24 Years of Age, bravely stood up, and profess'd himself *Candidate*, having the Year before been made *Edile*, tho' under Age, by the great Favour and Confidence of the People. This *Scipio* was Son to the Consul slain in *Spain*, a Person of rare and wonderful Abilities for his Age, of extraordinary Courage and Valour, and of as eminent Prudence and Vertue; which excellent Accomplishments made him joyfully accepted of by the Votes of all; but after he was chosen, they began to have some Concern upon the Account of his Youth; which he apprehending, call'd 'em together, and with such a noble Spirit and great Resolution promis'd 'em Success, that they departed abundantly satisfied with their Choice.

The following Year after *Scipio's* Voyage to *Spain*, *Valerius Lavinius*, who had done good Service against *Philip* of *Macedon*, was made *Consul* a second time, and sent into *Sicily*; where taking the City *Agri- gentum*, he soon reduc'd the whole Island, which was

- the first time the *Romans* became Masters of all *Sicily*; and this fell out in the 8th Year of this War, and 544th of the City. In the time of *Levinus's* Consulship a Dictator was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election, both he and his Collegue *Marcellus* being abroad: this was *Fulvius Flaccus*, and his Master of the Horse was *Licinius Crassus*. In this Election *Fabius Maximus* was chosen Consul a fifth time, in which Year *Tarentum* was betray'd into his hands, the Success of this Campaign proving very doubtful and various; and in this same Year was a *Lustration*, where were found but 137108 Free Citizens; by which Account it appears what great Losses the *Romans* had sustained by these terrible Wars. *Marcellus* for this Year sometimes won and sometimes lost with *Hannibal*; and the following was made Consul a fifth time, when, going against *Hannibal*, he was slain in an Ambuscade. His Collegue *Crispinus* also receiv'd a Wound, which in a little time kill'd him, having
- Dic. lxxv. first nominated a Dictator for holding the *Comitia* for
 U. C. a new Election, which was *Manlius Torquatus*, his
 544. Master of the Horse being *C. Servilius*.
- Dic. lxxvi.
 U. C.
 546.

The following Year, *Asdrubal* was order'd to leave *Spain* and go for *Italy* to the Assistance of his Brother *Hannibal*. Whereupon *Livius* the Consul was order'd to meet and oppose him, whilst his Collegue *Nero* observ'd the Motions of *Hannibal*: but *Nero* having met with some Success against *Hannibal*, made a choice Detachment of 6000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and with great Secrecy and as much Speed, march'd towards his Collegue. Having joyn'd him, they surrounded *Asdrubal*, who by the Deceitfulness of his Guides had led him into a dangerous Place, and cut him and his whole Army in pieces. *Nero* immediately return'd to his Camp, and before *Hannibal* knew of his Departure, cast his Brother's Head in his Camp; by which, to his great Grief, he knew of his Defeat. At the finishing of this Consulship, a Dictator

Dictator was created for the holding of the *Comitia* for a new Election, the Consuls being both abroad, which was *Livius Sabinator*, his *Master of the Horse* being *Cacilius Metellus*. The Year after this, *Scipio* after the obtaining many great Victories, and the performing many noble Exploits in *Spain*, wholly reduc'd that Country to the Obedience of *Rome*; having taken or driven out all the *Carthaginian* Commanders, and gain'd as much Reputation by his mild, sweet, and generous Temper, as he did by his courageous and valiant Acts. This happen'd five Years after his undertaking this Charge, and twelve after the Beginning of this War.

Dic.
lxvii.
U. C.
547.

IV. The *Romans* now found themselves in a much better Condition than they were at the Beginning of these Wars, especially by the Reduction of two such considerable Provinces as *Spain* and *Sicily*, which had been great Diversions to 'em, but still *Hannibal*, in the Bowels of *Italy*, was a severe Curb and a grievous Burden to 'em; upon which *Scipio* at his Return, being made *Consul* at 29 Years of Age, greatly desired to be sent into *Africk*, as the surest Means to finish the War; telling the Senate, *That he doubted not but to manage Affairs so, as that the Carthaginians should be forc'd to recall Hannibal out of Italy for the Defence of his own Country.* *Fabius* most earnestly, and with some Heat, oppos'd this, and thereupon a considerable Difference arose; but at length *Sicily* was granted him for his Province, and Leave given him to pass over into *Africk* if he saw it convenient for the Commonwealth. All this Year he spent in *Sicily*, in providing Necessaries for his Expedition; at the end of which, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of Consuls, namely, *Cacilius Metellus*, his *Master of the Horse* being *Veturius Philo*: The next *Lustrum* being soon after, 215000 Free Citizens were cens'd, which was 77892 more than at

U. C.
548.

Dic.
lxviii.
U. C.
549.

the last; a happy Encrease for five Years time. This same Year, which was the 14th of this War, did *Scipio* arrive at *Africk* with a brave Fleet, where *Masanissa* King of *Numidia*, who had joyn'd with him in *Spain*, came in to his Assistance.

Scipio did not long want Work in *Africk*, for in a little time *Hanno* oppos'd him, and was slain himself with 3000 of his Men; which so encourag'd *Scipio*, that he immediately invested *Utica*: but *Syphax* King of *Numidia*, who had dispossest *Masanissa* of his Kingdom, coming with the *Carthaginians* to relieve the Place, *Scipio* broke up the Siege; and departed to his Winter Quarters. But in the Winter he was not idle, but again invested *Utica*; and understanding that the Enemy was encamp'd not far off, he sent his ablest Soldiers in the Habits of Slaves, with his Commissioners, to view their Camps. This done, he suddenly set fire to their Coverings of Mats, Reeds, dry Boughs, and the like; which they not suspecting, but thinking it came by Accident, were cut in pieces in the midst of the Hurry and Confusion, to the Number of 40000 Men, 6000 being taken Prisoners. Not long after he gave them another great Overthrow, which so terrify'd the *Carthaginians*, that they were glad to recall their great Champion *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, who himself likewise was all this time rather going down the Wind. An Embassage was immediately dispatch'd to *Rome*, with a Design to obtain a Cessation of Arms till *Hannibal* cou'd safely retire from *Italy*: But their Aim being sufficiently understood, their Message was slighted, and came to no Effect.

The mean time *Syphax*, finding his Kingdom was like to return to *Masanissa* the true Inheritor, had got together a large Army of unexperienc'd Strangers, and with them march'd against *Scipio*, but was soon defeated, and himself taken Prisoner. *Masanissa*, the better to regain his Kingdom, march'd with all speed

speed to *Cirta* the chief City, and by shewing them the King in Bonds, got the Gates to be open'd, every one striving to gain the Favour of him, who as they perceiv'd, wou'd be their King. Among the rest Queen *Sophonisba*, *Syphax's* Wife, a Woman of incomparable Beauty, who very earnestly and humbly besought him, *That she might not be deliver'd up into the hands of the Romans.* Her bodily Perfections so recommended her Suit, that young *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his Promise, marry'd her himself that Day. This Action was much disapprov'd of by *Scipio* at his Arrival soon after, letting him to understand, *That the Romans had a Title to her Head, as being their Captive, one of their greatest Enemies, and the Cause of all Syphax's Treachery.* Upon this therefore *Masanissa* in desperate Passion sent her a Bowl of Poyson, at the receiving of which she only said, *That if her Husband had no better Token to send to his new Wife, she must accept of that;* adding, *That her Death had been more honourable if her Marriage had been farther from it;* and so boldly drank it off. *Scipio* the better to comfort the melancholy Prince had him immediately proclaim'd King of *Numidia*, with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity that might be, having now settled him in his Throne without any farther Opposition.

V. *Hannibal* had now done all that he was able to do in *Italy*, and more than any other Commander, when he was recall'd by his Superiours, and with great Reluctancy was forc'd to quit that Country, after he had spent 15 Years in it with various Fortune. He complain'd much of his Senate, and of Himself: of his Senate, because they had so little supply'd him with Money and other Necessaries, when he had been so long in an Enemies Country; of Himself, for giving the *Romans* time to breath, after he had so often overthrow'n 'em. It is said likewise, that

Dic. lxi.

U. C.

551.

before he embark'd, he built an Arch nigh the Temple of *Juno Lucinia*, where, in *Punick* and *Greek* Letters, he wrote the Sum of his great Exploits. Then putting to Sea in a melancholy Temper, having lost both his Brothers *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, and a great many of his best Men, he landed in a few Days at *Leptis*; from whence he march'd to *Adrumetum*, and so to *Zama*, five Days Journey from *Carthage*. A general Satisfaction was in *Rome* for his Departure; for never was a General more dreaded by 'em: and much about that time a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Consuls*, *Suspicius Galba* being the Man, and *Servilius Geminus* his Master of the Horse.

Hannibal now lying encamp'd at *Zama*, and *Scipio* not far from him, the former beginning to consider the declining Estate of his Country, desir'd a Meeting with *Scipio* to treat of a Peace, which was granted. In a large Plain between the two Armies, the two greatest Generals in the World came to an Interview; but receiving mutually no Satisfaction, especially for that *Scipio* had upbraided the *Carthaginians* with a late Breach of Truce and Violation of Ambassadors, they return'd to decide the Controversie by the Sword. Never was a more memorable Battel fought, whether we regard the Generals, the Armies, the two States that contended, or the Importance of the Victory. Both the Generals shew'd admirable Skill in placing their Men and chusing their Ground, as well as extraordinary Courage in Charging and Falling on, letting their Soldiers to understand, *That this Battel must shew whether Rome or Carthage should give Laws to the World.* *Hannibal*, tho' he behav'd himself most gallantly, and with all the true Management of such an expert Commander, was at last overcome by *Scipio*, who slew 20000, and took as many Prisoners. Whereupon *Hannibal* perswaded his Countrymen to beg Peace, and Ambassadors were
imme-

immediately dispatch'd to Rome for that Purpose; a little before whose Arrival, a Dictator was created *Dic. lxx.* for holding the Comitia for Election of Consuls; and *U. C.* this was C. Servilius, his Master of the Horse being 552.
Atilius Patrus.

The Power of concluding Peace was by the People decreed to Scipio and ten others, and was at last agreed to upon these Articles; First, That the Carthaginians should enjoy all their Territories in Africk; but that the Romans should hold Spain, with all the Islands in the Mediterranean: Secondly, That all Rebels and Deserters should be given up to the Romans: Thirdly, That the Carthaginians should deliver up all ~~the~~ beak'd Ships, except ten Triremes, with all their tam'd Elephants, and tame no more: Fourthly, That it should be unlawful for 'em to make War in Africk or elsewhere without Leave from Rome: Fifthly, That they should restore all to Masaniſſa, and enter into Alliance with him: Sixthly, That they should give Money and Corn to the Roman Troops, till the Return of the Ambassadors: And Seventhly, That they should pay 10000 Talents of Silver in 50 Years time, and give 100 Hostages for the Performance of all. Thus ended the second Punick or Carthaginian War, in the 17th Year of it, to the great Satisfaction of Rome, and the greater Repown of Scipio, who besides a most splendid Triumph, obtain'd the honourable Surname of *Africanus*. This happen'd in the 553d Year of the City, *A. M.* 3804, in the 4th Year of the 144th Olympiad, 308 Years since the Beginning of the Consular State, 189 since the Burning of the City by the Gauls, 129 since the Beginning of the Macedonian Empire by Alexander, and 199 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. XI.

*From the End of the second Punick War,
to the End of the third, and the De-
struction of Carthage; when Rome
got clear of all her Rival States.*

Containing the Space of 55 Tears.

V. C.
553. **T**Hese Wars, tho' they had been very dangerous, almost to the Ruin of the *Roman* State, ended much to the Advantage of it, both as to its Honour and Dominion, as well as its Experience and Knowledge. The *Romans* began more and more to know the Use of Riches and of Arts, and Learning daily encreas'd as they became more acquainted with the *Grecians*. For much about this time flourish'd *Ennius*, *Licinius Tegula*, and *Cacilius*, all Dramatick Poets; the *Romans* being much delighted with such Spectacles, as well as those more cruel ones of Gladiators, Fightings with wild Beasts, &c. The finishing of these late Wars much eas'd the *Romans*, but still they wanted not Work; for immediately after began, or rather went on, the *Macedonian* War against King *Philip*, the first Occasion being given soon after the great Battel of *Canna*, upon his Entrance into an Alliance with *Hannibal*, as was said before. But now the *Romans* having little else to do, and not without Provocation as well by his Breach of Faith with the *Aetolians* and other *Roman* Allies in those Parts, as by his Supplies long before sent to *Hannibal*, and at the earnest Request of the *Athenians*, as well as the Complaints of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians*, proclaim'd War against him a-new.
This

This *Philip* King of *Macedon* was one of *Alexander's* Successors, being the tenth King after him, and a powerful Prince in *Greece*. Against him *Sulpicius Galba* the Consul was sent, who by Himself and his Lieutenant, put him to the worst divers times, and had almost taken him Prisoner. By the help of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, the Consul rais'd the Siege of *Athens*; whereupon the *Aetolians*, before backward enough by reason of their Magistrates, and the *Athenians* now encourag'd afresh, invaded *Philip's* Dominions, but being too idle and careless, were easily repulsed by him. This same Year did *Furius* the Prator get a great Victory over the *Gauls*, who had lately revolted and invested *Cremona*, killing 30000 Men, and with them *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian* Captain. For this Action, after much Dispute in the Senate, he triumph'd, tho' against the Custom, and without Precedent; for none ever obtain'd this Honour, who had gotten a Victory with another's Army, as he had done with *Anrelius Cotta's* the Consul, in his Absence, who therefore took the Matter very hainously. The Year following, *Bebius* the Prator entring unadvisedly into the Territories of the *Insubrian Gauls*, was surrounded, and lost above 6600 of his Men; in this Year little was done in *Macedonia*.

In the third Year of the *Macedonian War*, *Quintus Flamininus* the Consul was sent thither, who using great Expedition and Diligence, beat *Philip* out of the Streights, where he had been very advantageously posted; and by Sea his Brother *Lucius*, with *Attalus*, regain'd several Confederate Towns, and invested *Corinth* it self, but with no Success. The latter end of this Year, by reason of the great Business of the Commonwealth, the Prators in *Rome* were encreas'd from four to six; and now the time coming for the Election of Consuls, and it being usual for them to take the Provinces from their Predecessors, the *Tribunes* rightly objected, That this Custom hinder'd the

Progress

Prat. en-
creas'd.
V. C.
556.

Progress of the Wars, and so procur'd *Quintius's* Government and Place to be continu'd to him, who being just upon taking the Castle of *Opus*, Messengers came from *Philip* about a Treaty. Several times they met, as they formerly had done at the Streights, the Ambassadors of *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* being present; but all came to no Effect, *Philip* soon after delivering up *Argos* into the hands of *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacedamon*, who us'd the Inhabitants with great Cruelty and intolerable Exactions. But *Quintius*, carrying on things with good Success, at last follow'd *Philip* into *Thessaly*, and gave him a great Overthrow at *Cynoscephale*, killing 8000, and taking 5000 Prisoners; so that he was forced to beg Peace, which was granted upon Terms moderate enough, one of the Articles was, *That he should pay 1000 Talents, half at present, and the other half in the space of ten Years.*

About this same time, two great Victories were obtain'd over the *Gauls*; and the Slaves in *Hetruria* breaking into a dangerous Rebellion, were quell'd and chastis'd by *Attilius* the *Prator*. And now the *Romans*, out of a Principle of Generosity, resolv'd to restore Liberty to the Cities of *Greece* which they had taken in this War; and for that Reason, ten Men of the chiefest Quality were sent over thither, *Flamininus* being the principal. These Commissioners went to the great Solemnity of the *Isthmian Games*, where was a general Meeting of all *Greece* to behold those Shows; and there, in the Name of the Senate and People of *Rome*, they publickly proclaim'd Liberty to all the Cities and People of *Greece*. This was the most surprizing and most joyful thing in the World to these People, who scarce so much as imagin'd, much less expected, the Favour. Many Speeches were made in Praise of the *Roman* Greatness and Generosity, particularly, *That at last, there was a People in the World, born for the Safety of all others,*
that

that cross'd Seas and made Wars at their own Cost and Peril, to relieve the Oppress'd, to establish Laws, and cause them to be observ'd, and to maintain the publick Security throughout the whole Earth. And this was the end of the first *Macedonian War*, which happen'd five Years after it was last proclaim'd, and twenty after it first began.

II. The *Romans* had still Wars with the *Gauls*, who were joyn'd with the *Ligurians* their Neighbours, and likewise with many of the *Spaniards* who had revolted; but still they were not much burdensome to the State, nor such as hinder'd the Progress of Learning in the City. For about this time *Plautus* had many Plays acted at *Rome* with great Applause; and he it was that brought *Comedy* to its Perfection in this City, being a Person of a great Genius, and a compleat Master of the Latin Tongue, which, tho' it was not arriv'd to its utmost Purity, had even then a masculine Strength and Energy which was very excellent. The *Romans* were not without some Wars in *Greece*; for *Nabis*, lately mention'd, still oppos'd 'em, but was forc'd to submit in no long time: And about this time, *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, by his Encroachments upon the *Roman* Allies, gave an Occasion to the *Romans* to fall out with him; and this he did partly through his own Ambition and Hatred to *Rome*, and partly by the Perswasions of *Hannibal*, who had been lately forc'd thither by the Ingratitude of his own Countrymen. These Things occasion'd Ambassies on both sides, but to no great purpose, till at last *Antiochus* proceeded so far into *Greece* it self, the *Ætolians* treacherously joyning with them, that the *Romans* after suitable Preparations, proclaim'd War against him, which was five Years after the finishing the *Macedonian War*.

Antiochus as well as *Philip* was one of *Alexander's* Successors, and surnam'd *Magnus*, being a very potent Prince,

V. C.
558.

V. C.
563.

Prince, and Master of great Dominions, therefore the greater Preparations were made against him, and *Acilius* the Consul was sent into *Greece* to manage the War. *Acilius* easily recover'd those Places which *Antiochus* had possess'd himself of in *Thessaly*; then following that King to the Straits of *Thermopyla*, whither he had retir'd, he forc'd him out of his advantageous Post, and gave him such an Overthrow, that he immediately abandon'd all *Greece*, the *Ætolians* being left to the Mercy of the Conquerours. While *Acilius* did these Things in *Greece*, his Colleague *Nasica* got a notable Victory over the *Boian Gauls* in *Italy*, which entirely broke all their Power. *Lucius Scipio* and *Lalins Nepos*, being Consuls for the following Year, came according to Custom to divide the Provinces by Lot. Both were extremely desirous to have *Greece*, and *Lalins* being in great Favour, offer'd to leave it to the Determination of the Senate, which *Scipio* was perswaded to assent to by his Brother *Africanus*. The Thing was new, and the Senate expected many Words on both sides, when *Africanus* standing up, told the Fathers, *That if they won'd decree Greece for his Brother's Province, he himself won'd be his Legatus or Lieutenant*, at which there needed no more to be said; for it was immediately voted with Universal Consent, and Power given to *Scipio* to pass into *Asia*, if he saw it convenient.

In the mean time *Antiochus* lay at *Ephesus* in *Asia*, secure, as he thought, of the Romans; but *Hannibal* told him, *He rather wonder'd they were not there already than doubted of their coming*, and procur'd the Forces to be sent for out of the further Provinces, and all the Ships that were ready, to secure the Passage of the *Hellespont*, where the Consul was most likely to pass. *Pergamus*, the chief City of *Eumenes* the Friend of the Romans, was likewise invested, but the Siege was soon rais'd; and *Antiochus* sent to *Æmilius* the Roman Admiral, now on those Coasts, about a
Peace,

Peace, but he disown'd all Power of concluding it without the Consul. Soon after, the *Rhodians* defeated his Admiral at Sea, which was *Hannibal*, a Man out of his proper Element; and after that in a Fight with *Amilius*, *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, he fully lost the Command at Sea. *Antiochus* affrighted at this ill Fortune, imprudently abandon'd *Lyfimachia*, which might have kept the Consul in Action a Year longer; and, adding one Indiscretion to another, suffer'd the *Scipio's* to pass the *Hellefpont* into *Asia* without Opposition. This so startled him, that he offer'd to quit all Places in *Europe*, and such in *Asia* as were Friends of *Rome*, to pay half the Charges the *Romans* were at in this War; and rather than not obtain Peace, to part with a Portion of his own Kingdom.

The Ambassadors who carry'd these Proposals, did what they cou'd to procure the Favour of *Africanus*, offering him the Restitution of his Son who had been taken Prisoner, and many other great Things, if it cou'd be effected. But *Africanus* wou'd promise nothing more than only private Offices of Kindness, modestly letting 'em to know, *That since Antiochus was now in such a declining state, Peace was not to be purchas'd at so easie a Rate as formerly.* Whereupon *Antiochus* made what Provision he cou'd for a Battel; and *Africanus* falling sick soon after, to comfort him, he sent him his Son without Ransom, upon which the other, in way of Requital, advis'd him not to engage with his Brother 'till he cou'd return to the Camp. *Antiochus* therefore, having received this Message, declin'd fighting what he cou'd, till *Scipio* the Consul press'd so hard upon him nigh *Magnesia*, that he was forc'd to draw out his Men to the Number of 70000 Foot and 12000 Horse. *Scipio* oppos'd him with a much less Army, but in a few Hours time entirely defeated him, where his own Chariots arm'd with Siches, being driven back upon his own Men, contributed

buted much to his Overthrow. *Antiochus* now was glad to procure Peace of the *Romans* upon their own Terms, and Ambassadors were dispatch'd accordingly, where *Africanus* told 'em, That the *Romans* never used to insult over their conquer'd Enemies, and therefore nothing should be requir'd of him more than formerly. The Terms were, To pay 15000 Talents for the Expences of the War; to quit all their Possessions in Europe, and likewise all Asia on this side Mount Taurus; to deliver up Hannibal and other Incendiaries; and to give 20 Hostages for securing the Peace. Thus ended the War with *Antiochus* the Great, much to the Advantage of Rome, within two Years time or less, twelve Years after the second Punick War, *Lucius Scipio* having gain'd the Surname of *Asiaticus*, as his Brother had of *Africanus*.

V. C.
565.

III. The *Romans* had now little to do but to chastise the *Ætolians* in Greece, which was soon done; and by the same Consul an Expedition was undertaken against the Gallo-Grecians or Galatians in Asia with good Success; but Luxury and Idleness was first brought into Rome by his Army out of Asia: And the same Year the Census being perform'd, 258328 Free Citizens were cess'd. In the third Year after the ending of the War with *Antiochus*, *Scipio Africanus* was maliciously accus'd of defrauding the Treasury of the Booty taken in the War, and of too nigh a Correspondence with *Antiochus*, and the like; and had a Day set him by the Tribunes to answer it before the People. The Day of Hearing being come, and the Tribunes having taken their Places in the *Rostra*, this great Man enter'd the Assembly with a mighty Train of Friends and Clients, all the People having their Eyes fix'd upon him with Admiration. Silence being made, he with an undaunted Bravery put on his Triumphal Crown, and with the Voice of a Conqueror cry'd, This very Day, O Romans! did I over-

ebmē

come the fierce Hannibal, and vanquish the powerful Carthaginians, therefore let us lay aside private Contests, and go as many as can to the Capitol, to thank the Gods for giving me the Will and Power of doing such eminent Services for my Country. Whereupon going up to the Capitol, the whole Assembly follow'd him, as also to all the Temples in the City, insomuch that the very Viators and Clerks left the Tribunes alone, who from Accusers were turn'd Admirers.

Soon after, the Tribunes accus'd him in the Senate-House, and desir'd he might be brought to his Answer. Scipio boldly rising up, produc'd his Books of Accounts, and tore 'em in pieces before 'em all, disdaining to give an Account for so small a Matter in comparison of those vast Sums he himself had brought into the Treasury. The next Day of Appearance he absented himself, and his Brother declaring his Indisposition, he was excus'd, and another Day appointed; before which time, he withdrew himself to Linternum a Sea-Town of Campania, and there liv'd a retir'd Life. In his Absence the Tribunes were very violent against him; yet, through the Interposition of Gracchus, one of 'em, he was not condemn'd. His Brother Asiaticus was soon after call'd to an Account about Things of the same nature, but by Gracchus's means escap'd publick Punishment. The Year following many scandalous Abuses of the Feasts of Bacchus were strictly enquir'd into and reform'd. Three Years after which, the great Africanus dy'd, who, according to Val. Maximus, order'd *Ingrata Patria ne ossa quidem mea habes* to be engraven on his Tomb, *My ungrateful Country shall have none of my Remains*. This same Year was remarkable for the Death of two other famous Men, Philopæmen Captain of the Achæans in Greece, and Hannibal; the latter of which had fled to several Places to escape falling into the hands of the Romans, and at last to Prusias King of Bithynia, who, out of fear, was about delivering him up, when Hannibal

took Poyson, which 'tis said he carry'd about him in his Ring, first invoking the Gods of Hospitality as Witnesses of the violated Faith of King Prusias, and upbraiding the present Romans with degenerating from their Ancestors, who had honourably prevented the Murder of their mortal Enemy Pyrrhus, whereas these had basely sent to Prusias to murder his Guest and Friend.

U. C.
583.

The Romans were for about 12 Years after this chiefly employ'd in Wars with their Neighbours the *Ligurians* and *Istrians*, with the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*, and likewise with the *Celiberians* in Spain, all which they reduc'd to Subjection. In which space of time the Works of *Numa Pompilius* the second King of Rome, after they had been buried in a stone Chest 535 Years, were taken up and burnt by Order of Senate; and in a *Lustration* not long after, 273244 Free Citizens were cels'd. About 2 Years after this, *Perseus* King of *Macedon* the Son of *Philip*, invited by his Father's Preparations before he dy'd, and pleas'd with his own Strength and imaginary Successes, renounc'd the League made with the Romans, and so began the second *Macedonian War* 25 Years after the finishing of the first, and 18 after that with *Antiochus*. Upon this, *Quintus Martins* and others were sent into Greece to secure and establish the Confederates in their Fidelity; which made *Perseus* begin to reflect upon what he had done: and understanding the Motions and Preparations of the Romans, he apply'd himself to *Marcus* about a Treaty for Peace, relying upon the ancient Friendship between their two Families. The Ambassadors were glad of this Opportunity, and to divert him from Action, granted him Truce till he might send to Rome; for without this, he might have began the War much to the Disadvantage of the Romans, who had neither Army nor Commander yet arriv'd in Greece.

The Senate deny'd him Peace, and *Atilius* the Consul was sent to seize upon *Larissa* the chief City of *Thessaly*:

Theſſaly: Whereupon, *Persius* drew all his Forces together, having got a greater Army than any of his Predecessors were Masters of since *Alexander* the Great. He took in some Towns upon his Frontiers, and *Licinius* the Consul led such a raw undisciplin'd Army into *Macedonia*, and through such difficult and almost impassable Places, that had *Persius* taken his Opportunity, he might easily have destroy'd it. After this, he sent to *Licinius*, offering to observe the Articles which his Father *Philip* had submitted to by paying the Tribute, and leaving the Cities to their Liberty; but could not obtain Peace to be granted him upon these terms. Soon after, *Thebes* and *Aleartus* were taken by *Lucretius* the Prator; and the Consul having had the better in another Skirmish, possess'd himself of some Towns, and took up his Winter-Quarters; mean while *Appius Claudius* lost many Men in *Illyricum*. The Year following *Hostilius* the Consul, who was to manage this War, did little of moment, besides reducing his Men to that ancient Discipline which his Predecessor had neglected. *Marcus Philippus* succeeding him, at his first Entrance into his Province might have easily been defeated, had he met with a prudent and expert Enemy, the Ways being so difficult and dangerous to pass, that his Soldiers cou'd scarce hold their Weapons in their Hands for meer Weariness. And after he had enter'd the Plains, he might as easily have been block'd up and starv'd, had not *Persius*, struck with a groundless Fear, retreated to *Padua*, and left all the Passes open to him. Yet *Marcus* did nothing of Consequence, leaving all to be perform'd by his Successor *Emilius Paulus*, who had been Consul 17 Years before, and was a very experienc'd Commander.

Emilius very skilfully manag'd the War, and caus'd the Eclipse of the Moon to be foretold to his Soldiers, lest they shou'd be discourag'd by it, which much terrify'd the Enemy that knew nothing of the natural

Cause. He kept his Men from fighting when they were fatigu'd, tho' the Officers were desirous to engage: But the Armies lying encamp'd on each side the River *Enipeus*, a Beast by chance passing over from the *Roman* side, was seiz'd on, and being rescu'd, by degrees drew both Armies to an Engagement, wherein *Persius* lost the Day, and with it his Kingdom. He flying into the Isle of *Crete*, when all abandon'd him, surrender'd himself into the Hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Emilius* severely chastis'd the *Epirots*, who had join'd with *Persius*, plundering and demolishing about 70 of their Towns, whereby such a great Booty was gain'd, that each Footman had 200 *Denarii* (above 7 *English* Pounds) and every Horseman twice as much. But the Soldiers having gotten little or no Plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the King's Treasure, deny'd their General a Triumph, which he obtain'd notwithstanding, and that a most splendid one too, *Persius* himself and his two Sons being led in great State before his triumphal Chariot. And the same Year *Cn. Octavius* the *Prator* at Sea, triumph'd, and *L. Anicius*, before whose Chariot was led *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, who being a Confederate of *Persius*, was forc'd to yield himself Prisoner. Thus ended the second *Macedonian* War in three Years time, and with it the *Macedonian* Kingdom, after it had continu'd 156 Years after *Alexander's* Death, and several Hundreds of Years before, *V. C.* 586.

IV. Now the *Roman* Grandure began to shew it self through all Countries and Nations; many Kings and Potentates became humble Suppliants to the Senate, being all at their Disposal; and Learning now flourish'd much more than ever, much forwarded by the *Romans* Converse and Familiarity with the *Grecians*, whom they had lately conquer'd; and much encouraged by *Scipio* and *Laelius* the two noble Patrons of Eloquence, Poetry, and all Arts, and the worthiest and

and most accomplish'd Gentlemen in *Rome*. The former of these was *Emilius* the Consul's Son, adopted by the Son of *Africanus*; and the other was Son to *Laelius*, who formerly did such Service in *Africa*. In this time flourish'd the famous Comedian *Terence*, who writ with extraordinary Correctness and Accuracy, and help'd to bring the *Roman* Tongue to a great Perfection as to Purity and Propriety, his first Play being acted one Year after the Conquest of *Macedonia* and *Persius*. And not only the Learning, Riches, and Dominions of *Rome* were encreas'd, but likewise the Inhabitants, for in a Lustration about this time, there were 312081 Free Citizens cessed. For 17 or 18 Years the *Romans* were employ'd in more inferiour Wars, such as those with the *Ligurians*, *Corficans*, *Dalmatians*, and *Spaniards*, and likewise the *Macedonians*, being all in the nature of Revolts, which tho' they often created much Trouble to the State, yet they were not very memorable. These were scarce finish'd when the third *Carthaginian* War broke out, 51 Years after the second; occasion'd by their Warring with the *Roman* Confederates, but caus'd probably by *Rome's* Hatred and Jealousie of that rich and flourishing Commonwealth.

War was strait proclaim'd against that Nation, and the Consuls sent with a full Resolution utterly to destroy *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* affrighted at the *Romans* Preparations, immediately condemn'd those who had broken the League, and most humbly offer'd any reasonable Satisfaction. Answer was return'd to 'em, That they shou'd enjoy all as formerly, provided they sent 300 Hostages of the chief of the City within 30 days to Sicily, and did what the Consuls shou'd further command 'em. The *Carthaginians*, desiring nothing more than Peace, sent their Children within the limited time; and the Consuls landing at *Utica* soon after, they sent their Commissioners to wait upon them and know their Pleasure. *Censorinus* the

U. C.
604.

Consul, commending their Diligence, demanded all their Arms, which without any Fraud were deliver'd up. Now the *Carthaginians* imploring Mercy with Tears, desir'd to know their last Doom; the Consuls told 'em, *That they were commanded to quit their City, which they had Orders to level with the ground, and build another any where in their own Territories, so it were but 10 Miles from the Sea.* This severe Command they receiv'd with all the Concern and Rage of despairing People, and resolv'd to suffer any Death rather than abandon, or yield to the Ruin of their ancient Seat and Habitation.

The Consuls were very backward in beginning the War, not doubting but easily to become Masters of the City, now in this naked and defenceless Condition. But they found it otherwise; for the Inhabitants acted by a desperate Rage and Fury, both Men and Women fell to working Night and Day in the Defence of the City, and making of Arms: and where Iron and Brasse were wanting, they made use of Gold and Silver, the Women cutting off the Hair of their Heads to supply the place of Tow or Flax. *Asdrubal*, who had lately been condemn'd upon the Account of the *Romans*, was made their General and Governour, where he had already a good Army; and such Preparations were made, that when the Consuls came before the City, they found such notable Resistance as much discourag'd 'em, and encreas'd the Resolution of the Besieged. The Consuls engag'd several times to their Disadvantage, and might have been great Losers had not the Army been secur'd and brought off by the great Wisdom and Courage of *Scipio* formerly mention'd, who drew over *Pharneas* Master of the *Carthaginian* Horse to his side; which Action gain'd him great Fame and Honour. This Year dy'd *Masaniissa*, 90 Years old, leaving his Kingdom and a young Son to *Scipio's* Discretion: And the same Year dy'd *Cato* in *Rome*, who was so famous for his severe Morals, and his *Delenda est Carthago*. Lit.

Little was done by the Consuls in the following Year, for they only invested *Clupea* and *Hippo*, without taking of either : But at *Rome* all Mens Eyes were upon *Scipio*, looking upon him as the Person destin'd to end the War ; and whereas he sought but for the *Edileship*, the People bestow'd the *Consulship* upon him, dispensing with his Age and other usual Qualifications. *Scipio* soon let 'em know that their Honours were not ill bestow'd ; for restoring Discipline, which had been much neglected by the foregoing Consuls, he soon after took that part of *Carthage* call'd *Megara*, and drove the Inhabitants into the Citadel or *Byrsa*. Then securing the *Isthmus* which lead to the City, he cut off all Provisions from out the Country, and block'd up the Haven ; but the Besieged, with miraculous and incredible Industry, cut out a new Passage into the Sea, whereby, at certain times, they cou'd receive Necessaries from the Army without. *Scipio* therefore, in the beginning of the Winter, set upon their Forces lying abroad, of which he kill'd 70000, and took 10000 Prisoners ; by which means the Besieged cou'd have no Relief from abroad, so that they were now in a sad and despairing Condition.

In the Beginning of the next Spring, he took the Wall leading to the Haven *Citho*, and soon after the *Forum* it self, where was a most miserable and deplorable Spectacle of slaughter'd People ; for some hewn in pieces by the Sword, others half kill'd by the Fall of Houses, or Fires ; some half bury'd in the Earth and trampled on, and others torn Limb from Limb, lay mangled in vast Heaps after a sad and lamentable manner. Still the Citadel held out, till at last it was desir'd by some, *That all that wou'd come forth shou'd have their Lives* ; which being granted to all but Revolters, above 50000 yielded, and were sav'd, as did afterwards *Asdrubal* himself. He was much revil'd for it by the Revolters, who finding their Case desperate, set Fire to the Temple and burnt them-

themselves with it ; whose Example was follow'd by *Asdrubal's* Wife, who in a desperate Fury threw her self and her two Children into the midst of the Flames. Then was this magnificent City laid in Ashes, being 24 Miles in compass, and so large, that the burning of it continu'd 17 Days together. The Senate at *Rome* receiv'd this News with a great deal of Joy and Satisfaction, and dispatch'd Men of their own Order, whom they joyn'd with *Scipio* for the disposing of the Country. These order'd, that none of *Carthage* shou'd be left ; and that it might never be rebuilt, they laid heavy Curses on any that shou'd offer to do it. All the Cities which assisted in this War were order'd to be demolish'd, and the Lands, given to the Friends of the *Roman* People ; and the rest of the Towns were to be Tributaries, and govern'd yearly by a *Prætor* appointed on purpose, all the Captives and Prisoners being sold, except some of the principal.

This was the End of one of the most renown'd Cities in the World, both for Command and Riches, 708 Years after it was first built, having been Rival to *Rome* above 100 Years: And this was the End of the third and last *Carthaginian* War, which was finish'd in the 4th Year after it began, to the great Enlargement of the Dominions, Power, and Riches of the *Roman* State. This happen'd in the 608th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3859, in the 3d Year of the 158th *Olympiad*, 363 Years since the Beginning of the *Consular* State, 244 since the Burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, 184 since the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, 119 since the first Contest between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, and 144 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. XII.

From the Destruction of Carthage to the End of the Sedition of the Gracchi, which much shook the Government, and was the first Step towards the Ruin of the Consular State.

Containing the Space of 23 Years.

I. **N**OW Rome began to pride her self more than ever, having got rid of her Enemies that she most fear'd and most hated, her Dominions being extended to a large Circumference, and the Commonwealth encreas'd to a noble Height of Glory, but to a more dangerous Degree of Security in respect of Neighbours, which in not many Years prov'd the Dissolution of the present Government. However, the Power and Conquests of the State still daily encreas'd, and this very Year *Corinth*, one of the noblest Cities in *Greece*, underwent the same Fate with *Carthage*, being levell'd with the Ground. The Occasion was given by the *Achaens* themselves, who not only affronted the *Roman* Ambassadors sent to dissolve the Confederacy, and to leave the Cities to the Government of their own peculiar Laws, but likewise joyn'd with others in a War against the *Lacedamonians* the Allies of *Rome*. Upon these Grounds the Senate decreed War against 'em, and *Metellus* now in *Macedonia* undertook it; who drawing down his Army thro' *Theffaly* into *Boeotia*, overthrew *Critolaus*, then took *Thebes* and *Megara*, about which time *Mummius* the Consul succeeded him in his Province. And this *Mum-*
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V. C.
608.

minus overthrew *Dians* the *Achaean* General, after which he enter'd *Corinth* and demolish'd it, because there the Ambassadors had been abus'd. And as *Scipio*, who destroy'd *Carthage*, like the former *Scipio*, had the Surname of *Africanus*, and *Metellus* for reducing *Macedonia* that of *Macedonicus*; so *Mummius*, for his Success this Year, obtain'd the Surname of *Achaicus*, because he reduc'd those Parts, and all *Greece*, with *Epirus*, into the Form of a Province, call'd afterwards by the general Name of *Achaia*.

V. C.
609.

It was now 74 Years since the *Romans* enter'd *Spain* in a hostile manner, and many and frequent Strugglings had been made by that People, especially since the Departure of *Scipio Africanus* the Elder: At this time was *Virgatus* up in Arms, who from a Shepherd became a Robber, and from a Robber a General over many such as himself, and made the *Romans* sufficient Work for some time. And *Fabius* the Brother of *Scipio* the Younger, after some Success against him, was at last brought to such Straits, as he was glad to accept of Peace upon equal Terms, which *Cæpio* the following Years Consul refus'd to stand to, receiving Orders from the Senate to prosecute the War. *Cæpio* attempted to destroy *Virgatus* unawares, but he escap'd, and soon after sending his Ambassadors to treat of a Peace, *Cæpio* so wrought upon them, that they murder'd him in his Bed at their Return, to their own Shame and the Consul's Dishonour. But the most difficult part of this War was at *Numantia*, a Town of no great Bigness, but peopled with Inhabitants of extraordinary Valour. Before *Virgatus's* Death they had foil'd *Pompeius* the Consul several times, and likewise his Successor *Mancianus*, who were constrain'd to make dishonourable Treaties with 'em, but afterwards sufficient Pretences were found to break 'em. After this *Brutus* defeated many Thousands of the *Lusitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallacians*; but *Lepidus* the Pro-Consul met with worse Fortune, for setting

ting upon the *Vaccæi*, a harmless People of the hither-molt *Spain*, he was utterly defeated by 'em.

These Misfortunes so terrify'd the *Roman* Soldiers, that they were ready to tremble at the sight of a *Spaniard*; and this made the Citizens of *Rome* chuse *Scipio Africanus* Consul a second time, as the chief Hope and Bulwark of their Country. *Scipio* at first restor'd Discipline, the want of which had been the Cause of all their former ill Success; but coming to engage, he found the Courage of the Enemy such, that he resolv'd to fight no more; but lay a close Siege to *Numantia*, which he did with all the Care that might be. At last the Besieged were so straitned, that they offer'd to yield upon reasonable Terms, or to fight if they might have Battel given 'em, notwithstanding the Inequality of their Numbers: But neither of these being allow'd 'em, they all drank strong Liquors on purpose to inflame themselves, and then fell upon the Besiegers with such a desperate Fury, that the *Romans* had all fled, had any other General but *Scipio* commanded 'em. The Besieged finding there was no avoiding being made Prisoners, fir'd the City over their own Heads, scarce a Man being left to be led in Triumph. This famous City, seated in *Gallaecia*, had for 14 Years together withstood 40000 *Romans* with only 4000 Men, often putting 'em to great Loss and Shame: And that it might be no longer a Trouble to 'em, *Scipio* destroy'd it, after a Siege of fifteen Months; thirteen Years after he had destroy'd *Carthage*, *Mutius Scaevola* and *Calpurnius Piso*, both learned Men, being Consuls. *Spain* was now brought to a more entire Subjection than ever, being not many Years before divided into the three Provinces of *Terraconensis*, *Berica*, and *Lusitanica*, two *Prators* being yearly sent thither for its better Government. At this time flourish'd *Lucilius* the famous *Satyrisk*, the first, at least of Note of that kind in *Rome*; and this same Year was a Servile War in *Sicily*, but the Slaves were in a short time quite broken and dispers'd.

V. C.
621.

II. The *Romans* now began daily to degenerate from their ancient Modesty, Plainness and Severity of Life; addicting themselves more and more to Pleasure and Luxury: For the *Asian* Expeditions and Triumphs having brought in Excess and Riot, and the Ruin of *Carthage* taken away Fear; Idleness and Security, as well as Avarice and Ambition, by degrees stole in upon 'em, and almost a general Corruption began to mix with the State. For tho' after this time many a powerful People were subdu'd, Arts and Learning daily encreas'd and flourish'd, and great Glory was gotten abroad, yet it was often stain'd and sully'd with inglorious Factions, seditious Jealousies and Contentions at home, sometimes to the shedding of one anothers Blood; of which, that of *Tiberius Gracchus* was the first remarkable Instance. This Person, being the Elder *Africanus's* Grandson, and of a stirring and active Spirit, had a Hand in *Mancinus's* dishonourable Peace in *Spain*, for which being reflected on by the Senate (who not without Injustice had broke it) and thereby both sham'd and affrighted, he endeavoured to make himself popular, by restraining the unjust Oppressions of the Great Men, which were now more notorious than formerly: And therefore procuring himself to be chosen *Tribune*, he preferr'd a Law, forbidding any Man to possess above 500 Acres of the publick Lands, and ordering the Overplus to be divided among the Poor. For it was customary for the *Romans* to divide those Lands which were taken from their Enemies among their own Citizens, if arable; if not, they farm'd 'em out by the *Censors* to the *Italians*, or the ordinary sort of *Romans*, upon condition, that if they plow'd 'em, they shou'd pay the tenth part of the Corn, and the fifth of other Fruits; but if they did not plow them, they paid a certain Rent. But so it was, that now the poor Husbandmen were thrust out of their ancient Possessi-

ons by the great Oppressions and Licentiousness of the Rich, who by purchasing and other ways, got the Lands all into their own Hands; so that the Publick by this means was defrauded of its Revenues, and the Poor of their Livelihoods.

For the Reformation of these Abuses; *Gracchus* took great care; and whereas the *Lex Licinia* and *Sempronia* were formerly Enacted for restraining the Avarice of the Rich, he strengthen'd the former by adding, lest the Law shou'd be wrested, that one half shou'd be given to the Children, and the rest divided among such Poor as had nothing: And lest any shou'd go about to enlarge their Portions by Purchase, *Triumviri* or three Men were yearly appointed to judge what Lands were publick, and what were private. These Things, tho at first carry'd on moderately enough, extreamly disgusted the Nobility and richer sort, who, by Vertue of this Law, were to part with much of their Estates; and for that Reason they insinuated to the People, *That Gracchus had introduc'd this Law with a Design only to disturb the Government, and to put all Things into Confusion.* But *Gracchus* being a Person of great Abilities and Eloquence, easily wip'd off those Aspersions, and in a publick Speech told the People, *That while the Savage Beasts and Destroyers of Mankind wanted not their Places of Repose and Refuge, those Men who expos'd their Lives for their Countries were forbidden all Enjoyments but the open Air and Sun-shine. That their Commanders before the Battels ridiculously exhorted 'em to fight for their Temples and Altars, and their Ancestors Seats, when they had none of these to defend or care for. They had the Honour indeed of gaining large Dominions, but had not the Profit of enjoying the smallest Possessions: and likewise had the Honour of being styl'd Lords of the Universe, but had not the Command of one Foot of Land.*

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This Speech, and some others of his, had great Effects upon the common People, who before were ready enough to promote a Law so advantageous to themselves; but *Gracchus* meeting with much Opposition on one side, as well as Encouragement on the other, began now to proceed with greater Heat and Violence; and being oppos'd by *Ottavius* one of his Collegues, he so manag'd him both by Cunning and Violence, as he was glad to quit his Office; into whose Place he chose *Mummius*, one of his own Faction. This Action of his being without all Precedent, much alienated the Minds of many of the Multitude, and his own Party, who judg'd he made too bold with the *Sacrosanct* Office of the *Tribuneship*. *Gracchus* perceiving this, first made a very plausible Defence; and the more to ingratiate himself with the People, he offer'd a Law for distributing the Money of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had lately left that, together with his Kingdom, to the People of *Rome*. This caus'd greater Disturbances among the Senate and Nobility than before, and all Things were carry'd on with more violent Feuds than ever, and *Gracchus's* Death began now to be thought on and design'd, as the surest Means to quiet all Disturbances, and to make an End of all Differences.

The Senate being assembled to consult what was best to be done in this Juncture, and all being of Opinion that *Mutius Scaevola* the Consul shou'd defend the Commonwealth by Arms, he refus'd to do any thing by Force. Whereupon *Scipio Nasica*, *Gracchus's* Kinsman, taking up his Gown under his Left-arm, held up his Right-hand in great Passion, crying, *Since the Consul regards not the Safety of the Commonwealth, let every Man that will defend the Dignity and Authority of their Laws, follow me.* Upon this, he went directly up to the *Capitol*, being accompanied with most of the Senate, many *Equites*, and some Commoners, arm'd with Clubs, Staves, and the like; who knock-

knocking down all that resisted, made their Way into the *Capitol*, where *Gracchus* was speaking to the People, and endeavouring to be chosen *Tribune* for the following Year. There they fell upon both him and his Hearers, whereof they kill'd 300, and with them himself with a piece of a Seat, as he was endeavouring to save himself by Flight. This was the first Insurrection among the *Romans*, that ended with Effusion of Blood, since the Abrogation of Kingly Government; for all former Seditions, tho' many of'em were very great, were constantly ended by the two Parties yielding to one another, and submitting all to the Good of the Publick; for then Riches and private Interest were not understood among the *Romans*.

At this time there were some Risings at *Athens* and at *Delos*, being as Sparks of that Fire kindled by the Slaves in *Sicily* the Year before, which with some Trouble were extinguish'd; neither was *Italy* it self altogether free from them. But a greater War ensu'd about the Kingdom of *Asia*; for *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* or *Asia*, by his last Will had left the People of *Rome* his Heir, as was before observ'd: But after his Decease, *Aristonicus*, his Bastard-Brother, seiz'd on the Kingdom as his own Inheritance and Right. *Licinius Crassus* the Consul was first sent against him, but was unfortunately overthrown in the first Battel; and being taken Prisoner, struck one of the Soldiers on the Eye, on purpose to provoke him to kill him, which he did. He thus miscarrying, tho' with the Assistance of several Kings, his Successor *Perpenna* halted into *Asia*, set upon *Aristonicus* unawares, before he was recover'd of his Security contracted by his Victory, first overthrew him in Battel, then besieg'd him in *Stratonice*, where by Famine he forc'd him to a Surrender, shortly after which he dy'd himself at *Pergamus*. The Remainder of the War was finish'd by *Aquilinus* the next Year's Consul, who having settled the Province with sufficient Oppression of
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the People, led *Aristonicus* in Triumph, tho' he had been taken by another; and afterwards, by Order of the Senate, he was strangl'd in Prison, about 4 Years after the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*; a little before which time a *Lustrum* being perform'd, 330823 Free Citizens were cess'd.

V. C.
625.

III. The Civil Dissentions occasion'd by *Gracchus*, did not die with him, his Law for the Division of the Lands being still in Force, of which the People were so fond, that many Disturbances were rais'd upon that Account. Now *Gracchus* had a younger Brother call'd *Caius*, who with *Flaccus*, and *Papirius*, had been made *Triumvirs* for dividing the Grounds. He with his Collegues undertook the Patronage of this Law, and performing his Office with great Vigour, such Trouble arose about the Divisions, the Reckonings, the Accounts, and Removals, that the *Italians* finding themselves press'd hard upon, betook themselves to *Scipio* for Ease. *Scipio* did not altogether reject their Suit, nor yet wou'd he make any Objections against the Law it self; so he only moved in Senate, That the Executive Power of it might be taken from the *Triumviri*, and lodg'd in some others. The Senate most willingly agreed to this, and conferr'd it on *Sempronius Tuditanus* the Consul; but he finding the Work troublesome, went out of the Way, under Pretence of the War in *Illyricum*. There being therefore none at present to fly to in this Case, the People were much incens'd at *Scipio*, accounting him ingrateful, and a Favourer of the *Italians* more than themselves; which ill Opinions of him were encreas'd by his Approving of the Senior *Gracchus's* Death, and his Reprimanding the Multitude. But so it happen'd, that being one Night retired to his Chamber, to meditate of something to speak to the People the next Day, in the Morning he was found dead in his Bed, not without Suspicion of Treachery from his Wife and

and Mother-in-Law, the latter of which was Mother of the *Gracchi*. Nevertheless being then in no favour with the People, little Enquiry was made after his Death, though he was a Person of extraordinary Merits, and had been accounted the Bulwark of the State.

The owners of the Land still made Delays in the Division, and some thought that the Partakers of the Dividends should likewise have the Freedom of the City; which, however lik'd of by others, was highly displeasing to the Senate. While the People were variously discoursing of these things, *Caius* obtain'd the *Tribune ship*, and bearing a Grudge to the Senate, he found a fair Opportunity to shew it. He preferr'd several Laws, among the rest, one for dividing the publick Corn to every Man Monthly, shewing himself rather more stirring and active, and more dextrous than his Brother. Then getting his Office continu'd to him another Year, he began more narrowly to inspect into the late Corruptions of the Senate; such as their taking Bribes, their selling of Offices, and the like; wherenpon he found Means to bring down the Power of judging corrupt Officers, from the Senators to the *Equites* or *Knights*, which gave the latter an extraordinary Authority, and made a remarkable Change and Alteration in the Government.

These *Equites* were instituted by *Romulus*; and though they were in the Common-wealth from the beginning, yet they had no particular Authority, Rank or Order, till this Law of *Gracchus*, by which it was enacted, that these Judgments should be peculiar to them. So that whereas at first, there were only two Orders or Ranks, namely, *Patritian*, and *Plebeian*, which through the Increachments of the People, were afterwards alter'd to *Senatorial* and *Plebeian*. By this Law, and especially by the help of *Cicero*, afterwards the *Equites* became a distinct

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Order.

Order. Thus now the Roman Citizens consisted of three Ranks or Orders, namely, the *Senatorian*, which included all the *Patritians*, and such of the *Plebeians*, as could rise to be *Senators*; the *Plebeian*, which still continu'd the same as formerly; and the *Equestrian*, which before had always been included in the *Plebeian*, and had been only distinguish'd by their way of Service. *Gracchus* took the best time that might be for preferring this Law, for the *Senators* were become odious of late, because for Money they had acquitted *Cotta*, *Sabinator* and *Aquilus*; Persons capitally guilty of Corruption. But the great Power of these *Equites* became very burdensome to the State, till by Degrees, their Authority came to be lessen'd. The *Equites* alone, were wont to take to Farm the publick Revenues and Customs from the *Censors*, and from thence had the Name of

Publicans.

Publicans. These were the principal of the *Equestrian* Order, the Ornaments of the City, and the Strength of the State, who made so many Companys, as there were Provinces subject to the Payment of Toll, Tribute, Custom or Impost.

Caius grew more and more in favour with the Commons, and was invested with a greater Power than ordinary, which he manag'd with a great deal of Prudence and Cunning, being a Master of much Eloquence, and many other Accomplishments. And the more to gratifie the Commons, he took great Care about the High-ways, making 'em extraordinary handfom and pleasant, as well as convenient; erecting likewise pillars of Stone at the End of each Mile, to signifie the Distances from Place to Place, but *Caius* finding the *Senators* to be his Enemys, endeavour'd still the more to ingratiate himself with the People by other new Laws. Particularly, he propos'd that a Colony of Roman Citizens might be sent to the People of *Tarentum*, and that all the *Latines* should enjoy the same Privileges with the Citizens

zens of *Rome*. But the Senate fearing *Caius's* Power, forbid the *Latines* to come near the City, at such time as they knew his Laws would be propos'd, and the better to satisfy and please the People, they gave way to the sending of 12 Colonys. *Caius* thus frustrated of his Designs, departed into *Africk*, with *Flaccus* his Collegue, intending to plant a Colony where *Carthage* stood, calling it *Funonia*; but there he also met with a Disappointment, the Bound Marks of the intended City being continually remov'd in the Night time by Wolves, as some Authors have it; whereupon the *Augurs* and *South-sayers* pronounc'd the Design unlawful.

Caius having been twice Tribune, stood for it a third time, and had many Votes, but his Collegues, offended at his violent Carriage at this time, got *Minucius Rufus* chosen into his place, who began to abrogate many of his Laws, wherein he was seconded by *Opimius* the Consul, who was a profest Enemy of *Caius's*, and endeavour'd to find some colourable Pretence to put him to Death. Whereupon *Caius*, at the Instigation of his Friends, especially *Fulvius*, resolv'd presently to raise Forces; and at an Assembly in the *Capitol*, he and many of his Friends went thither privately arm'd. It happen'd that one *Attilius* a Serjeant, coming down from the *Capitol*, cry'd out to *Fulvius* and his Friends, *Ye factious Citizens, make way for honest Men*, whereupon they immediately slew him. This Murther caus'd a great Disturbance in the Assembly, and *Caius* himself was very angry with some of his Party, for giving his Enemys so much advantage against him, and went about to excuse himself, but could not be heard by reason of the Tumult; so together with his Friends and Confederates, he got home; the Consul keeping strict Watch all Night in the City. The next day, *Attilius's* Corps was brought upon a Bier through the *Forum*, and expos'd to open view

just before the Senate House, and all to stir up the People. The Senate invested *Opimius* with an extraordinary Power, and all the *Equites* were order'd to be in Arms, which made *Caius* and all his Friends betake themselves to Mount *Aventine*, where they fortify'd themselves, offering Liberty to all Slaves that shou'd come in to them.

The Consul press'd hard upon *Caius*, and Proclamation was made, that whoever shou'd bring the Head either of *Caius* or *Fulvius*, shou'd receive their Weight in Gold for a Reward. *Caius* in a little time fled into a Grove beyond *Tiber*, and procur'd his Servant to kill him, who immediately after kill'd himself, and fell down dead upon his Master. One *Septimuleius*, carry'd his Head to *Opimius*, and 'tis said, that to make it weigh the heavier, he took out the Brains and fill'd the Skull with Lead. *Fulvius* flying to a Friend's House, was betray'd and slain; by the Severity of *Opimius*, no less than 3000 Persons of this Party were put to Death. Thus fell *Caius Gracchus*, above 10 Years after his Brother *Tiberius Gracchus*, and six after he began to act much in the Commonwealth. These *Gracchi* had so far alter'd the Constitutions of the Commonwealth, and the publick Peace was now so broken, particularly by the Disunion of *Patrons* and *Clients*, that the Roman State became very unsettl'd, and more liable to any new Revolution than ever; and though Reformation might be their Design, yet it might well be feared, that Ruin wou'd be the Effect of such Disturbances in a Commonwealth so corrupted with the greatness of their Riches, as well as the greatness of their Power. *Caius's* Death happen'd in the 631 Year of the City, in the 4th. Year of the 164th. *Olympiad*, 386 Years since the beginning of the Consular State, 207 since the setting up the *Macedonian* Empire, and 121 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. XIII.

From the End of the Seditions of the Gracchi, to the End of the first Civil War in Italy, and to the Perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla; which was the second great Step to the Ruin of the Consular State.

Containing the Space of 41 Years.

I. **T**HE Disturbances of the Common-wealth were for the present allay'd by the Death of *Caius Gracchus*; and soon after, a Law was made that any one might sell his Land, which the Senior *Gracchus* had forbidden; by which means the Poor, partly by Purchase, and partly by Constraint, were again dispossest'd. After that, the Law for Division of Lands was fully abrogated by *Borcius*, and the Grounds left to their ancient Owners, with a *Proviso* to pay a Tribute to the People out of 'em. But not long after, the Tribute was all taken away too, and so nothing was left remaining for the Poor. During these Domestick Troubles, the *Sardinians* rebell'd, and were reduc'd by *Anrelius*, and the *Fregellans* were punish'd with the Loss of their City by *Opimius* the *Prator*. About which time *Africk* was infected with a most prodigious Plague, destroying vast Numbers of Men, Cattel and Fowl, occasion'd by an infinite Number of Locusts, which having overspread the Ground, and destroy'd the Corn, Fruits, and even Trees themselves, at length were driven by a Wind into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and

V. C.
631.

there putrefying, corrupted the Air after a wonderful manner. Two Years after this, *Metellus* the Consul subdu'd the Islands *Belearæ* near *Spain*, and restrain'd all the Piracys which were there maintain'd.

U. C.
634.

At the same time was carry'd on that War call'd *Bellum Allobrogicum*, the War with the *Allobroges*, a People inhabiting about the Countries, now call'd *Dauphine* and *Savoy*. This War was occasion'd first by the *Salies*, a People of *Gaul* beyond the *Alps*, who invading the *Nassilians*, Allies of *Rome*, were chastiz'd by *Fulvius*, and subdu'd by *Sextus Calvinus*. *Tentomalus* their King flying out of the Battle, was receiv'd and protected by the *Allobroges*, who likewise invaded the *Hequi*, Allies also of *Rome*, and drew into Confederacy the *Arverni*. The *Allobroges* were first overthrown by *Domitius Enobarbus*, who kill'd 20000 of 'em, and took 3000 Prisoners, which great Victory, was owing chiefly to his Elephants. After him, *Fabius Maximus*, Grand-Son to *Paulus Emilius*, and adopted into the *Fabian* Family, defeated 'em with the *Arverni* and *Ruteni*, in a most bloody Battel, where 120000 were reported to be slain; and moreover, taking one of their Kings Prisoners, he obtain'd the Surname of *Allobrogicus*. About which time *Gallia Narbonensis* was reduc'd into a Province, in the Year 636. Not long after, the *Scordisci* a people of *Gaulish* Original, inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the Roman Army under *Cato* the Consul, yet were afterwards driven back into their own Country by *Didius* the *Prætor*, and the Consul *Drusus*; and after this they gave occasion of a glorious Triumph to *Minutius*, of which Honour *Metellus* also had a Share. Soon after these Wars, in a *Lustration*, 394336 free Citizens were poll'd in *Rome*, which Number was very little different from that in the *Lustrum* five years before.

U. C.
643.

II. *Rome* had not very much to do abroad for a while, but in no long time began a considerable War in *Numidia*, call'd the *Jugurthian* War. It was occasion'd by *Jugurtha*, Grand-son to the famous *Masanissa*, the *Romans* old Friend; who married his Cousin *Hiempsal* to get his Kingdom, and attempted to do the same to his Brother *Adherbal*, but he made his escape, and fled to the *Romans* for Succour. Whereupon *Jugurtha* being sensible how much Avarice and Injustice had crept into the City, he sent his Ambassadors with large Presents to *Rome*, which so wrought upon the Senate, that they decreed him half the Kingdom, and sent ten Commissioners to divide it between him and *Adherbal*. The Commissioners thinking they might lawfully imitate their Masters in the Senate, were also brib'd to bestow the most rich and populous Part upon *Jugurtha*; but he still unsatisfy'd, fell suddenly upon *Adherbal*, besieg'd him in *Cirta*, and getting him into his Hands, made him away. For this, War was decreed against *Jugurtha*, and committed to the Management of *Calpurnius Bestia* the Consul, who presently invaded *Numidia* with great Vigour and Diligence, and took some Towns, but he was soon stop'd in his Career, being overcome by the Golden Weapons of *Jugurtha*, so that a Treaty of Peace was soon set on Foot. The Senate were a little mov'd at this, and at the Power of *Scaurus*, who accompanying the Consul as his Friend and Counsellor, was likewise guilty of the same Crime; and therefore the People got *Cassius Longinus* the *Prator*, to go and procure *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome* upon the publick Faith of the State, that so they might discover all such as had been guilty of Bribery.

Scaurus perswaded *Jugurtha* to make Tryal of the Clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himself upon the Peoples Mercy; whereupon he came to *Rome* in a

pitiful and mourning Habit. But coming into the Assembly, *Belus* the Tribune had him hold his Peace, he being also brib'd to put off the Business, and to lude the people. At the same time was one *Massina* in Rome, *Jugurtha's* Cousin Germain, who had fled from *Africk* formerly. This Man was perswaded by *Albinus* the Consul to beg the Kingdom of the Senate; but *Jugurtha* having some Notice of the Design, procur'd him to be assassinated, and convey'd the Murderer away to *Numidia*. Hereupon, within a few days he was commanded to be gone, and being out of the City, he look'd upon it, with his Hands lift up, crying, *O Rome, what wouldst be sold thy Self, were there but a Chapman for thee!* So extremely were the Inhabitants degenerated from their former Fidelity, Modesty and Abstinence. *Albinus* follow'd him with an Army, which after he himself had been sometime there, he left with his Brother *Aulus*, who in the Consuls absence, by Virtue of some Compact, withdrew from *Suthul*, where the Chief Treasure of the Kingdom lay, when he was just upon investing it. The Centurions were also so corrupted, that when *Albinus* return'd, *Jugurtha* was suffer'd to break into the Camp, whence beating out the Army, he either forc'd, or by former Agreement, brought *Albinus* to submit upon most dishonourable Terms.

In this Condition did *Metellus* the following Consul find Affairs, and the whole Army was almost spoil'd for want of Discipline, to the great Dishonour of the Roman State, and the terrible Vexation of the honestest sort in the City. *Metellus* having brought his Soldiers into good Order, within the space of two years overthrew *Jugurtha* several times, forc'd him out of several Towns, and pursu'd him further than his own Borders, which constrain'd him to submit and beg Peace; but he soon broke the Conditions of it, and so the former Hostility return'd. At this time, one *C. Marius* was Legatus, or Lieutenant

to *Metellus*, a Person of great Frugality, Polley, Military Experience, and of vast Courage in War; a Conteinmer of Pleasure, but very ambitious of Honour, which made him extreamly desirous to gain the *Consulship*. To obtain this, he privately found fault with *Metellus*, to the Merchants of *Utica*, avowing, That he was able with half the Army to take *Jugurtha* Prisoner, and that within few Days. By these and the like detracting Discourses, he procur'd many Complaints to be written to Rome against *Metellus*, and getting leave to go thither, obtain'd the *Consulship*, and had the management of the War committed to him. Notwithstanding, the People were so grateful to *Metellus*, that at his return, being satisfy'd as to his Behaviour, they both granted him a Triumph, and bestow'd upon him the Surname of *Numidicus*, as an additional Honour.

Marius shew'd himself a very expert Warrior, and in a little time took the City *Capsa*, a place very rich and strong; and after this, another call'd *Mulucha*. *Jugurtha* now finding himself too weak to oppose him any longer, drew *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania* and his Father-in-Law, in to his Assistance, who by the help of his numerous Cavalry much harass'd the Roman Army. *Marius* had invest'd *Cirta*, and *Bocchus* approaching to raise the Siege, what by the Number of his Horse, reported to be 60000, and what by the violent Heats and great Dusts, the Romans were sorely distress'd, and the Fight continu'd dangerous and terrible to them for three Days; at the end of which, a tempest of Rain falling, spoil'd the Enemys Weapons, and reliev'd *Marius's* Men, almost famish'd with Thirst; and now the Course of Fortune changing, the two Kings were intirely defeated. In another Battel, *Marius* 'tis said, kill'd 90000, after which *Bocchus* began to repent of his Enterprize, and sent to Rome to enter into a League, which he could not procure; nevertheless he

he obtain'd Pardon for his Crime. Not long after *Marius* took *Jugurtha* in an Ambuscade, whether he had drawn him by specious Pretences, and deliver'd him up to *Sylla* his *Questor*, who had brought over some Forces from *Italy*, and under *Marius* he got that Skill in War, which he afterwards employ'd against him. *Jugurtha*, with his two Sons were led in Triumph by *Marius*; and soon after by Order of Senate, he was put to Death, and so the *Jugurthian* War ended, after it had continu'd about seven years.

III. At the same time, a War was carry'd on against the *Cimbri*, a vagabond people of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, now call'd *Denmark*, who joyning with a sort of *Germans* call'd *Tentones*, made dreadful Irruptions into several Parts of the *Roman* Dominions, particularly *Gaul* and *Spain*, where they had overthrow several Consuls, in the last Battel killing 80000 *Romans*, after which they resolv'd to pass the *Alps* into *Italy*. *Rome* began now to be in a great Consternation, and *Marius* having just vanquish'd *Jugurtha*, they made him Consul a second time, as the only Man thought able to preserve the State. While they continu'd in *Spain*, *Marius* warr'd against their Friends the *Tolosans* in *Gaul*, where King *Copilus* was taken by *Sylla* his Lieutenant. Being made Consul again the following Year, he declin'd fighting till the Enemys Force was abated. The next Year in his fourth Consulship, the Enemy in three several Partys were just upon passing the *Alps* into *Italy*, and as he attended their Motions, it happened that his Army was extreamly afflicted with Thirst, the *Tentones* and *Ambrones* lying between them and the Water, which Necessity brought him to an Engagement with 'em; and in two days time, he by his excellent Conduct utterly destroy'd 'em, taking *Theutobocchus* their King Prisoner. The *Cimbri* escap'd him, and got over into *Italy*, notwithstanding the

V. C.
650.

the Winter-Season, and the *Alps* cover'd with Snow, being in vain oppos'd by *Catullus*, both at the *Alps*, and at the River *Athestis*, nigh *Verona*. The Year following *Marius* was again made Consul, and joyning with *Catullus* was challeng'd by the Enemy to give Battel. Whereupon he fell upon their numerous Army, and gave 'em a most dreadful Overthrow; their Wives all the while making a strange Resistance from the Chariots, and when they saw all things in a desperate Condition, they in a great fury, first kill'd all their Children, and after that themselves. About 140000 were slain in this Battel, and 60000 taken Prisoners, and this ended this War, after it had continu'd twelve years, *Marius* the fifth time, and *Aquileius Nepos* being Consuls: The former was then esteem'd the preserver of his Country, and contented himself with one Triumph, when he might have had more; and his Collegue had now also finish'd the second *Servile War* in *Sicily*, which had lasted almost four Years.

Notwithstanding these Dangers abroad, the City was not without Domestick Troubles, which were occasion'd by *Saturninus*, one of *Marius's* Friends, who having been *Quæstor* at *Ostia*, during a Famine, was turn'd out of his Place by the Senate, to revenge which usage, he procur'd the *Tribune-ship*. But after his Year was out, *Metellus Numidicus*, formerly mention'd, being *Censor*, wou'd have remov'd him from the Senate, but was hinder'd by his Collegue. This so inrag'd him, that he stood again for the *Tribune-ship*, and nine of the ten *Tribunes* were chosen by the Assistance of *Marius*; he murder'd *Nonius* his Competitor, and so obtain'd the Place. Now being once again in Power, he preferr'd a Law for the Division of such Lands as *Marius* had recover'd in *Gaul*, and compell'd the Senate to swear to it, which Oath *Numidicus* refusing, he set him a Day to answer it before the people, but for fear of him and *Marius* together, *Numidicus* fled to *Smyrna* in *Asia*. *Saturninus*

getting to be Tribune the third time; and find-
 ing *Alteminus* to stand for the Consulship, he also
 rais'd him to be murder'd, to make way for *Glauci-
 us* the Praetor, one of his own Party. These base
 Practices rais'd several Tronbles and Commotions in
 the City, and the Senate resolv'd to make him an-
 swer in; whereupon *Marius*, now a sixth time Con-
 sul, perceiving him in a falling Condition, very po-
 litickly withdrew himself from his Friendship. The
 Consuls were now as in some other dangerous times,
 invested with an unusual and Dictatorian sort of Pow-
 er, the manner of conferring which was by a Vbte of
 the Senate, in these or the like Words. *Videant Con-
 sules ne quid detrimenti Respublica accipiat.* *Marius*
 therefore with his Colleague, set upon *Saturninus* in
 the publick Assembly, and forc'd him and his Follow-
 ers into the Capitol, where for want of Water they
 were constrain'd to yield; after *Marius* had given
 'em his Faith for their Safety. *Saturninus* and *Glauc-
 ius* much rely'd upon him, not sticking to give out,
 that they were but the Actors and Instruments of his De-
 signs. But notwithstanding this, they were all kill'd
 by the *Equites* in the Forum, who broke in among
 'em; and *Numidicus* especially by his Sons Industry,
 was recall'd, with the general Applause of the People.
 The Wars abroad, and the Dissentions and Cor-
 ruptions at home, did not hinder Learning, for that
 still flourish'd more than ever, and Poetry was come
 almost to its highest pitch in Rome; for a little be-
 fore this, flourish'd the famous *Lucretius*, an admira-
 ble Poet in his kind, and in many Particulars scarce
 inferiour to *Virgil*. Now for the Space of seven or
 eight Years, there was no open Sedition, but howe-
 ver there was great Dissatisfaction among those of the
 Senatorian Order, by reason of the Power of Judica-
 ture, given to the *Equites* by *C. Gracchus's* Laws,
 which prov'd an extraordinary Grievance to 'em. The
 Common-wealth too was bought and sold; the Pub-
 licans

licans, who farm'd the publick Revenues, being as they were *Equites*, both Judges and Partys. Upon these accounts, *Drusus* the *Tribune*, a very eminent Person, endeavour'd to restore the *Fathers* to their ancient Privileges and Authority, and yet not offend the *Equites*; and therefore the Senate being now reduc'd to a small Number, he prefer'd a Law, that as many *Equites* should be added to them, and that the Power of Judicature shou'd be committed equally to all that shou'd be then of this Body. This gave great Offence to both Partys; and *Capio* also, one of *Drusus's* Collegues, oppos'd him, and coming into the Senate, there accus'd some of the Chief of illegal Endeavours to gain Offices. *Drusus* to withstand his Designs, again propos'd the *Agrarian* Law; and that the Allies and Confederates of *Italy*, the present possessors might not take it ill, he gave 'em hopes of the Freedom of the City. A great Concourse of Strangers there was upon this account, and as great a Contention; and *Philippus* the Consul for opposing the Law for dividing the Lands, was soundly buffeted by one of 'em, and violent Disturbances follow'd. *Drusus* disappointed in this particular, still endeavour'd to perform his Promise to the *Italians*; but going home, accompany'd with a great Multitude of People, he was stabb'd in the Court of his own House, by whom 'tis uncertain, the Knife being left in his Body.

IV. These Troubles did not end with *Drusus's* Death, for soon after, a very dangerous War broke out upon this account with most of the *Italians*, call'd the *Social* or *Italian* War. These People had for some time taken it very ill, that they were deny'd the Freedom of the City, which had been partly promis'd 'em in the time of the *Gracchi*. But now *Drusus's* Death, who had heightened their Expectations, inrag'd 'em more than ever; especially when

V. C.
663.

when the *Equites* immediately after had by force of Arms, procur'd a Law for banishing all the great Persons who were not for their Interest. The *Italians* also thought that they had sufficient Reason to expect this Privilege from that City, whose Subsistence and Empire had been so much maintain'd by their Valour, they commonly sending out double the Number of Troops to those of *Rome*. Upon these Grounds they resolv'd to procure that by Force, which cou'd not be obtain'd by fair Means, and thereupon they joyned together in a close Confederacy, and privately sent Messages and Hostages to each other. Namely, the *Lucanians*, *Apulians*, *Marfi*, *Peligni*, with many others; and especially the old Enemies of *Rome*, the *Samnites*, and made their Preparations, with equal Diligence and Secrecy.

These Transactions being discover'd at *Rome*, though late enough, Spies were immediately sent out into all Quarters. One of which chanc'd to see a young Man of *Asculum* carry'd into another City for an Hostage, and thereupon acquainted *Servilius* the *Pro-Consul*, who going to *Asculum*, and reprimanding the Citizens of that Place, was set upon and slain, together with all the *Romans*. Their Designs being now wholly discover'd, they all broke out into open Rebellion; however first, they thought it most convenient to send to *Rome* to complain, but their Messengers cou'd not be admitted without Satisfaction and Repentance for what they had already done. Whereupon the War was committed to both the Consuls, together with *Marius* and *Sylla*, and several others that had *Pro-Consular* Authority, the forces on either side amounting to about 100000 fighting Men. The War was very dangerous, and *Rutilius* the Consul quickly lost his Life, falling into an Ambuscade laid by the *Marfi*, and the *Romans* receiv'd many terrible Blows, so that they were constrain'd

strain'd to list many that had been Slaves. The Bodys of the Consul and several others being carry'd into the City, so discourag'd the People, that the Senate made a Decree, that hence forward the Bodys of the slain should be bury'd where they dy'd, which as a prudent Example was likewise follow'd by the Enemy. After the death of *Rutilius*, his Army was committed to *Marius* his Lieutenant, and *Cepio*, who acted in Conjunction with him. *Cepio* was slain not long after in an Ambuscade laid by *Popedius*, one of the *Italian* Generals; so *Marius* had his Desire of commanding alone, and did excellent Service, as likewise did *Sylla* the same year.

For the following year, *Pompeius Strabo*, Father to *Pompey* the Great, and *Porcius Cato* were made Consuls, and now the Senate thought fit to give the Freedom of the City to such of the *Italians* as had not revolted, which much establish'd those who were somewhat wavering in their Minds, and abated the Courages of the other already engag'd: Yet these were not chosen into any of the 35 Tribes, but were plac'd by themselves behind all, so that in Voting, they cou'd not hinder the rest, which afterwards caus'd some Disturbance. *Cato* the Consul did very good Service this Campaign, which so swell'd him, that he boasted himself equal to *Marius*, for which he was kill'd by *Marius's* Son, in the midst of a Bat-tel against the *Marfi*. His Colleague *Pompey* overthrew the *Picentes* and *Asculani*; and having long besieg'd *Asculum*, he defeated the Enemy which sally'd out upon him; he likewise kill'd 18000 of the *Marfi*, taking 3000 Prisoners. And at last possessing himself of *Asculum*, he caus'd all the Officers and principal Men in the City, to be first Scourg'd, and then Beheaded. *Sylla* also perform'd many great Actions, overthrowing the *Sammites*, and storming two of their Camps, which Success so elevated him, that he presently stood for the Consul-ship, and obtain'd it,

it, having the Honour likewise of finishing this dangerous War, nigh three years after it was begun. This War was ended with a Disturbance in the City about Usury, and the unexpected Privileges of the conquer'd *Italians*, who had the Freedom of the City given 'em, just as the others a little before had, and so all things were quieted.

V. C.
666.

V. But Quiet and Rest was too great a Happiness for *Rome* at this time, for the *Social War* was scarce finish'd, when two others broke out, one the Cause of the other. The first was with *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus* in *Asia Minor*, a Prince famous for his Knowledge and Learning, mighty in Riches and Power, and one that was of vast Ambition, and cherish'd great Designs. This King by several Actions had gain'd the Enmity of *Rome*, particularly by procuring *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, to declare against the *Roman State*, and by his over-running his Neighbours, the *Bithynians*, *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Lycians*, *Pamphylians*, and other Allys of *Rome*. And which was more provoking than all the rest, he had taken *Q. Oppius*, and *Aquilinus*, the latter of which he kill'd by pouring melted Gold down his Throat, continually upbraiding the *Romans* with Avarice and Corruption. Upon all these Accounts, the *Romans* proclaim'd War against him; and *Sylla*, and *Pompeius Rufus* being Consuls, it fell to the former's share to manage it. But *Sylla* having not yet quite finish'd the *Social War*, *Marius* stirr'd by the desire either of Profit or of Honour, perswaded *Sulpicius*, Tribune of the People, to prefer a Law for transferring the Management of this War from *Sylla* to him. He made what Partys he cou'd and drew the people of *Italy* to his Side, who had lately been made free of the City, by promising 'em equal Privileges with those in the 35 Tribes, which as yet they wanted; so that Masters were carry'd with violent Heats and

and Contentions ; and *Pompey's* Son, and Son in-Law to *Sylla*, was kill'd in the midst of these Tumults and Disturbances.

Sylla hearing of these dangerous Commotions, hastened to the City, easily perswading his Army to stand by him in all Exigencies ; for they were very unwilling to have any other go on that Expedition, from which they promis'd themselves such great Advantages. His Colleague *Pompey* join'd with him ; and tho' *Marinus*, and *Sulpicius* the Tribune, made all possible Opposition, yet, after some Difficulty and Bloodshed, they enter'd the City, and *Marinus* with his Accomplices were forc'd to betake themselves to flight ; and thus began the other War, which was the first Civil War of any Note among the *Romans*, as the Troubles of the *Gracchi* were the first in which there had been any Bloodshed of Note. *Sylla* did no injury to the Citizens in general, but revers'd all that *Sulpicius* had done ; regulated the Senate, and procur'd *Marinus*, *Sulpicius*, and ten other leading Men, to be declar'd open Enemies to their Country, making it lawful for any Person to kill them, and setting their Goods to publick Sale. Soon after this, he departed upon his Expedition against *Mithridates*, who now had very much extended his Conquests, and had subdu'd a great Part of *Greece* it self. *Sulpicius* was soon taken and put to Death ; but *Marinus* hid himself in the Fens of *Minturnum*, where being discover'd, a *Gaul* was sent to kill him, but he was so dash'd and amaz'd at the Nobleness of his Presence, that he cou'd not do it : So that *Marinus* being convey'd out of that Place, escap'd into *Africk*, where he was join'd by *Cerebus* and others, who had fled into *Numidia*, expecting an Opportunity to invade their own Country. *Pompeius Rufus* the Consul, to secure *Italy*, was at the same time appointed to relieve the Army of *Pompeius Strabo*, who had done great Service in the *Social* War, and had so far got the love of his Men,

that they finding they were like to part with their old General, stood up and slew the Consul; so that now there were Dangers and Disturbances on all sides.

Cornelius Cinna, and *C. Octavius*, were made Consuls for the following Year: *Cinna*, corrupted, as some think, presently declar'd himself for the New Citizens, and recall'd *Marius*, with the rest of the Exiles; which things were so violently oppos'd by his Colleague *Octavius*, that *Cinna* was driven from the City, and *Merula* put in his Place. *Cinna* upon this going about to the *Italian* People, by giving 'em fresh Hopes of equal Privileges with the *Romans*, and pretending that all his *Troubles* and *Sufferings* were purely for their sakes, obtain'd great Summs of Money. *Marius* also coming over to him shortly, they together rais'd a considerable Army, and *Cinna* march'd directly to *Rome*, and sat down before it, to the great Surprize of the Inhabitants. *Marius* at the same time fell upon *Ostia*, and took it by Force; but *Cinna* before *Rome*, finding he was not like to carry the Place, broke up the Siege, and invested *Ariminum*, which he soon storm'd. *Marius*, after the taking of *Ostia*, advanc'd with his Army, and posted himself upon the Hill *Janiculum*, joining to *Rome*; which again put the Inhabitants into a great Consternation, especially for that he was soon after join'd by *Cinna*. The Consuls, finding they cou'd not recall *Sylla* from abroad, sent to *Metellus* then lying with an Army in *Samnium*; but he differing with them about some Conditions, presently join'd himself with *Marius*: At which time the City was nigh being betray'd by *Ap. Claudius*, a Tribune of the Army, who was invested with the Command of the *Janiculum*; but tho' He and *Cinna* broke in, they were repell'd by *Octavius*, and *Pompeius Strabo* the *Proconsul*, who was shortly after kill'd with a Thunder-bolt.

Marius,

Marius, after this, took in several Towns about *Rome* where Provisions lay, and *Cinna*, by the fair Promises of Liberty, drew great Numbers of Slaves out of the City ; which the Senate perceiving, sent Ambassadors to *Cinna* and *Marius*, desiring them to come into the City peaceably, and spare their own Country-men. *Cinna* refus'd to admit of any Address made to him as a Private Man, so that they were forc'd to treat with him as Consul, and desir'd him to swear that he wou'd shed no Blood. *Cinna* absolutely refus'd to take such an Oath ; but promis'd, that knowingly and willingly he wou'd not be the Cause of any Man's Death: *Marius* stood by him, and said nothing, but gave sufficient Testimony by the Sourness of his Countenance, and the Sternness of his Looks, that he wou'd shortly fill the City with Massacres. But the better to dissemble his Rage, he at last broke Silence, telling the Ambassadors, that he was then in Exile, and banish'd his Country by course of Law ; that if his Presence were necessary, they must repeal the former Act of his Banishment by a new Decree, that he might be received as a religious Observer of the Laws, and might enter the City free from Fear or Oppression. Upon this all Matters were adjusted, and the Law for banishing *Marius*, and his Associates, abrogated.

Upon the Entrance into the City, great Plunderings and miserable Slaughters began in all Places. *Octavius* the Consul, tho' he had the Oath of *Cinna* and *Marius*, yet refusing to fly from his Charge, was kill'd, and his Head set upon the *Rostra*, to which was added that of *M. Antonius*, Grand-Father to him in *Augustus's* Reign, an excellent Orator, who by his powerful Eloquence defended himself a good while against the Rage of the Soldiers, and several others. Dreadful Tumults and Cries were in all Places ; and none were spared either for the Dignity of their Worths, or their Ages. The dead Bodies, being barbarously mangl'd, and abominably abus'd,

were left to be torn in Pieces, and devoured by Dogs and Fowls, none daring to bury 'em. All *Sylla's* Friends were slaughter'd without Mercy, his House demolish'd, his Goods set to Sale, and he himself judged and declared an Enemy to *Rome*. *Merula*, tho' he never sought the *Consulship*, and *Catullus*, having their Days set 'em to answer for their Lives, destroy'd themselves. *Cinna* and *Marius* having thus satiated themselves with the Blood of others, made themselves *Consuls* for the following Year; but *Marius* dy'd e'er a Month's end, in the 70th. Year of his Age, within less than two Years after the breaking out of this Civil War, being a noble Soldier, but much more serviceable to his Country in the Time of War than in Peace, and the only Person who had the Honour of the *Consulship* seven times.

VI. In the Time of these unhappy Troubles at home, *Sylla* did many noble Exploits, against *Mithridates*, overthrowing *Archelaus* his General nigh *Athens* so effectually, that of his 120000 Men scarce 10000 were left; then he gave him another great Defeat, recover'd *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionis*, *Asia*, and other Countries, which *Mithridates* had got into his hands, and withal took his Fleet from him; insomuch that *Mithridates* was glad to come to a Treaty, which *Sylla* was not much averse to, being in want of Money, and very desirous to return to *Italy*, and to revenge himself of those who had declar'd him an Enemy to *Rome*. The principal Articles of the Peace were, that *Mithridates* shou'd pay the Charges of the War, and that for the future he shou'd be content with his Father's Kingdom; which were ratified in less than Three Years after the Beginning of the War. *Sylla* severely fin'd *Asia* for its Revolt, and settling Affairs according to the present Occasion, he return'd for *Italy*. He took *Athens* in his Way, from whence he carry'd the famous Library of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, in which

which were most of the Books of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, then not vulgarly known. He soon after wrote to the Senate at *Rome*, recounting all his great Services he had done for the State, and how ungratefully he had been us'd by *Marius's* Party, telling them plainly, *that he was coming to revenge both himself and the Publick, by punishing the Authors of those Injuries, though the rest he wou'd spare, whether they were old or new Citizens.*

The Senate extremely dreaded the effects of *Sylla's* Return, well knowing it would be fatal to many, and even to some who had unwillingly join'd with *Marius*; therefore they sent to treat with him, offering all their Endeavours for his Satisfaction, if he would quickly make known his Demands. And that there might be the less Blood-shed, they order'd *Cinna* to discontinue his Levies; but he finding there was no Way of supporting his Interest, but by Arms, only return'd 'em a plausible Answer, and went on to raise Soldiers, designing to make himself and his Colleague *Carbo* Consuls for the following Year, that there might be no Occasion to return to *Rome* for a new Election. He sent over some of his Troops into *Dalmatia*, there to meet *Sylla*; but the hindermost were driven back to *Italy* by a Storm, after which they absolutely refus'd to fight against their own Country-men; so that all the rest, who as yet had not put to Sea, refus'd to go on Board. Hereupon *Cinna* going to speak with 'em, one of his Officers who made way before him, struck one of 'em; at which the Soldier struck him again, and being apprehended for this Crime, a great Tumult and Mutiny arose among the rest of the Men, wherein *Cinna* himself was run through, and thus perish'd in his fourth Consulship, a Person worthier to have dy'd by the Command of the Conqueror, than by the Fury of the Soldiers. *Carbo* continu'd Consul by himself for the remaining Part of the Year.

U. C.
670.

Sylla before this time had receiv'd the Senate's Proposals, and return'd for Answer, That he won'd never be reconcil'd to such wicked Persons as *Cinna* and *Carbo*, who besides many pernicious Practices against their Country's Good, had procur'd War to be decreed against him who had done it so much Service: But if the People of Rome won'd give 'em Indemnity, he shou'd not oppose it; yet he thought all such as came over to him to be far more safe, since he had so considerable an Army at his Devotion. This sufficiently declaring his Intentions, he also demanded Restitution of his Estate, his ancient Dignity and Honours; but the Messengers coming to *Brundisium*, and there hearing of *Cinna's* Death, and the Disturbances of the Common-wealth, return'd back to him. *Sylla* then cross'd the Sea with a Fleet of 1600 Ships and 60000 Men, and landed at *Brundisium*, where he was join'd by *Metellus Pius*, who had retir'd from Rome for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and likewise *Pompey*, afterwards surnam'd the Great, who from this time became *Sylla's* greatest Favourite. Besides these, came also *Cethegus*, who having before join'd with *Cinna*, now begg'd Pardon, and was receiv'd. *Norbanus* and *Scipio*, the present Consuls, together with *Carbo*, made all Preparations for Resistance; and the first Trial at Arms was at *Canusium*, where *Norbanus* lost 6000 Men, and fled to *Capua*. His Colleague *Scipio* soon after, through the Treachery of his Army, fell, with his Son, into the Hands of *Sylla*, who civilly dismiss'd them both. After this, *Sylla* sent to *Norbanus* to treat of Peace; but not being thought serious perhaps, had no Answer return'd him.

Italy now began to feel the Desolations and Miseries of a Civil War, *Sylla* making great Havock on one side, and *Carbo* on the other, who getting into Rome, procur'd *Metellus*, and the rest who join'd with *Sylla*, to be declar'd Enemies to the State. Both Parties carefully sent up and down to the *Italian* Cities, labouring

labouring both by fair Means and foul to procure Forces; and thus was the rest of the Summer spent, in which time the *Capitol* was burnt down, none knowing how; which hapned about 430 Years after it was first built. The following Year, *Carbo* a third Time, and young *Marius*, the Son of the former, were made Consuls; the latter at 27 Years of Age. In the beginning of the Campaign, *Carbo's* Lieutenant *Carinus* was overthrown by *Metellus*, and *Marius* himself by *Sylla*. *Marius* was driven into *Praneste*, where being closely besieged, and almost despairing of Relief, he in a great Rage wrote to *Brutus*, then *Prætor* at *Rome*, to use some Pretence to call the Senate, and then to kill some of the principal of 'em who were his Enemies; which Order was executed with great Cruelty; so that whatsoever side were Conquerors, *Rome* was still a sad Sufferer. *Metellus* having by this time overthrown *Carbo* once more, and *Pompey* defeated *Marcus*, another of that Party, *Sylla* march'd directly to *Rome*, which Place he easily enter'd, great Numbers of the opposite Faction being fled into the Country.

The Inhabitants of *Rome* were extremely terrify'd at *Sylla's* Entrance; but he only put the Goods of the Persons that fled to Sale, wishing the People not to be dejected, for he was oblig'd to act as he did: Then leaving a sufficient Garrison in the City, he departed to *Clusium*, where he and his Officers several times overthrew *Carbo's* Armies. *Carbo*, being now upon the defensive, sent eight Legions to *Praneste* to relieve his Colleague *Marius*; but they were met by *Pompey* in a narrow Passage, where he slew many of 'em, and dispers'd the Rest. Soon after, *Carbo* being join'd with *Norbanus*, engag'd with *Metellus*, and had 10000 of his Men slain, and 6000 yielded; whereupon great Numbers went over to *Sylla's* Party, which presently became Masters of all Gaul on this side the *Alpes*. *Norbanus* fled to *Rhodes*, where fearing to be deliver'd up, he

he kill'd himself; and *Carbo* fled to *Africk*, tho he had 30000 Men at *Clusium*, besides other Forces, all which soon after were broken and dispers'd by *Pompey*. But *Carinus*, and *Marcus*, with other Commanders, by the help of the *Samnite* Troops, endeavour'd to force the Trenches at *Præneste*, and relieve *Marius*; but finding it impracticable, they advanc'd to *Rome*, where meeting with *Sylla*, a most bloody Battel was fought at the very Gates, in which many thousands were slain on both sides. But *Sylla* at last got the day, and *Carinus* and *Marcus* were taken, and their Heads sent to *Præneste* to be shewn to the Inhabitants, at which sorrowful Sight, they surrender'd to *Lucullus*, and *Marius* kill'd himself, whose Head was set up in the Pleading-Place at *Rome*. All his Faction in *Præneste*, with the Natives and *Samnites* were put to Death without Mercy; only the *Romans* escap'd with their Lives, and this rich City was plunder'd. *Norba* a little after was taken, and the Inhabitants setting the Town on Fire, all destroy'd themselves, some one way, and some another. So now all *Italy* came under the Power of *Sylla*.

Sylla, having been thus successful against his Enemies at home, sent *Pompey* into *Africk* against *Carbo*, and gave him Charge to pass from thence into *Sicily* against others of that Party. *Pompey* in a little time drove *Carbo* into *Sicily*, and thence into *Corcyra*, where he took him, and caus'd his Head to be cut off, and sent to *Sylla*. But *Rome* in the mean time now severely felt the dreadful Effects of Civil Contests; for *Sylla* calling the People together, told them, That he wou'd put 'em into a better Condition, if they were obedient to his Commands; but as for his Enemies, he was resolv'd to prosecute them with all sorts of Miseries and Calamities; which he did with more Severity than any before him, killing and butchering many thousands after a most inhumane Manner. Eight Thousand were put to Death together in the *Villa Publica*, a large House in the *Campus Martius*; Men were kill'd in the Embraces of their Wives, Children

dren in the Arms of their Mothers, and Liberty was given to the Soldiers to kill all they met, till *Furfidius* a little stopp'd the Current of his Rage, by putting him in mind that he ought to leave some to reign over. *Sylla* then publish'd Tables of *Proscription* for particular Persons, these being the first ever known in *Rome*, wherein were proscribed 80 *Senators*, and 1600 *Equites*, to which he afterwards added more, promising great Rewards to the Discoverers, and threatening Death to the Concealers of them. Of these Out-law'd Persons some were slain in their Houses, others in the Streets, and others prostrate at his Feet, begging their Lives; and those that fled, their Goods were seiz'd on. *Marius*, Brother to *Sylla's* great Enemy, had his Eyes first pull'd out, then his Hands and Legs cut off at several times, that he might die with the greater Torment. *C. Julius Caesar*, a young Man of wonderful promising Abilities, very hardly escap'd, of whom *Sylla* was wont to say, *That in Caesar were many Marius's.*

Rome was not the only Sufferer in these Miseries; for this *Proscription* was carry'd throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, where the Effusion of Blood was such, that neither the Temples of the Gods, nor Sanctuaries, nor private Houses escap'd clear. Both the Consuls being now destroy'd, *Sylla* withdrew himself from the City, and order'd the Senate to create an *Inter-Rex*, which they willingly did, naming *Valerius Flaccus*. He wrote to him to ask the People, that since Affairs were yet much unsettled, a *Dictator* might be created, and that not for any limited time, but till all Evils and Grievances should be redress'd, not forgetting to mention himself. This the People were forc'd to yield to, he having then all the Power in his own Hands; and so this Office, which had been intermitted for 120 Years, was conferr'd on him without any Limitation of Time. And thus ended the first Civil War in *Italy* about 6 Years after it began, and four after the first *Marius's* Death, in the 672^d. Year of the City, in the 3^d. Year of the 174th.
Olympiad

Olympiad, 427 Years since the Beginning of the Consular State, 248 since the setting up of the Macedonian Empire, and 80 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CH A P. XIV.

From the Perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla, to the first Triumvirate, namely, that of Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus; which prov'd the Ruin of the Consular State, and the first Step to the setting up the Imperial.

Containing the Space of 22 Years.

Dic. lxxi. 1. **T**H E Government of Rome was now for a while chang'd to a Monarchy, Sylla's Power being unlimited as to Time; and tho' to keep up a Shew of a Common-wealth, he permitt'd *Consuls* to be made, yet he plainly reign'd alone, having 24 *Lictors* with their *Fasces* and *Axes*, and a great Guard to attend his Person, as the Kings of old had, and repealing old Laws and enacting new at his pleasure. He regulated the *Consulship*, ordering that none shou'd be capable of it without first passing through other Offices. He overthrew that Plague to the Senate, the *Tribuneship*, by making those who bore it incapable of any other Trust. He added 300 of the *Equites* to the Senate, and likewise 10000 of the Slaves of the *Proscribed* to the People, making 'em Free, and calling 'em *Cornelii* according to his own Name; and he assign'd great quantities of Land to 23 Legions, the better to bind 'em to his Interest. This was the first Year of Sylla's Reign, in which the War broke out again with *Mithridates*, occasion'd by *Murena* whom Sylla had left behind him in *Asia*. This Man being ambitious of a Triumph, fell upon *Mithridates*, but
as

as it proved, only got himself an Overthrow; and *Mithridates* a Peace not long after, which finish'd the second War.

In the second Year of *Sylla's* Office he again made Consuls, but joyn'd himself with *Cacilius Metellus*, he being one, which Course the Emperors afterwards imitated. The Year after, when the People design'd him Consul again, he wav'd it, and chose two others; and then, to the great Surprize and Wonder of all Men, he laid down his *Dictatorship*, in the third Year of his Office; and tho' he had done so many cruel and horrid things, he fearlessly offer'd to give an account of his Actions. Yet we find none accus'd him but one young Man, whose scurrillous Language to him made him say, *that such Usage for the future wou'd keep any Man from laying down an Office of such Supream Authority*; which *Cesar* afterwards seem'd to have been aware of. Not long after, he went into the Country, where minding nothing but his Pleasure, he dy'd in a little time at *Puteoli*, his Body being putrefied, and all turn'd into Lice. This was the End of *Cornelius Sylla*, and as his Life was pernicious to his Country, so was his Death troublesome to it, the two Consuls and their Factions falling out about the Honours design'd for him at his Funeral. *Catullus* prevailing against his Collegue *Lepidus*, his Body was carry'd in great State through the City, and was the first in *Rome* that was burnt, to prevent being dealt withall as *Marinus* before had been, whose Bones *Sylla* himself had order'd to be digged up and thrown away.

After this, the Consuls fell into greater Dissentions about the Lands given away by *Sylla*, which *Lepidus* was for returning to the former Possessors. The Senate being very fearful of another War, made 'em both swear *Not to decide the Controversie by the Sword*. But *Lepidus* resolv'd not to return out of his Province, 'till the new Election of Consuls was over, and then to begin a War, thinking himself discharg'd from his

Oath

Oath when he was out of his Office. Hereupon the Senate sent for him, and at his return, he offer'd to bring his Troops into the City, but being oppos'd by *Catullus* and *Pompey*, a Battel insu'd, wherein he was overthrown, and fleeing to *Sardinia*, he dy'd soon after. This was not the end of all these Troubles, for a more dangerous War was still depending in *Spain* against *Q. Sertorius*, an expert Commander of *Cinna's* Faction, who had drove out all *Sylla's* Party from *Spain*, and had chosen 300 of his Friends, whom he call'd a Senate, in Opposition to that at *Rome*. *Sertorius* having joyn'd with the *Celtiberians*, had before been too hard for *Metellus*, and now being re-inforc'd with part of *Lepidus's* Army brought over by *Perpenna*, he design'd no less than the Invasion of *Italy*. The Senate apprehensive of this, sent *Pompey* against him, who for his great Exploits in *Africk* and *Sicily* had already triumph'd, tho' scarce 26 Years of Age, and neither Consul nor Prator. *Pompey*, in Imitation of *Hannibal*, pass'd the *Alpes*, by another way, but with no success against *Sertorius* either then or in the next Spring: And tho' *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were several times worsted by *Metellus*, yet *Pompey* was reduc'd to great Necessities by *Sertorius*, so that he was forc'd to send to *Rome* for Supplies; which after he had receiv'd, he fell upon several Places subject to *Sertorius*, yet did no great Matters this Year.

The following Year, *Pompey* and *Metellus* being stronger, made Incursions into several Parts, and with more Success than formerly; yet no considerable Battel was fought. And indeed there needed none, since *Sertorius* fell away insensibly, by disobliging his chief Soldiers in preferring the *Celtiberians* for his Guard, but more especially by his degenerating into a lazy and debauch'd, as well as cruel Temper, putting many to Death with little Reason. And now *Perpenna* fearing it might fall to his Lot to be made away amongst the rest, resolv'd to prevent it, and thereupon inviting him

him to a Sumptuous Feast, first made him and his Companions sufficiently drunk, and then murder'd him; which was a very inglorious End for so great a Soldier, who had stoutly Resisted all that had been sent against him, and had been admired by the *Spaniards* as another *Hannibal*. *Perpenna* with much difficulty obtain'd his Command from his Army, but not long after was overthrown in Battel, and taken Prisoner by *Pompey*. He offer'd to disclose in private to *Pompey* some Matters of the highest Consequence, if he wou'd spare his Life; but *Pompey* with great Policy and Discretion commanded him to be Executed immediately, and his Papers all to be burnt, for fear his Accusations shou'd bring the State into further Troubles, of which it had felt sufficient already. Thus ended all the Civil Wars, in the 681st. Year of the City, 15 Years after it first began, and 9 after it ended in *Italy*, in the Consulship of *Terentius Varro* and *Cassius Varns*, the former being a Person of wonderful Knowledge, and one of the most Learned Men that ever *Rome* produc'd, in whose time Learning was in many respects at the highest Pitch in the State.

II. But the Year before, a third War broke out with *Mithridates*, who now had joyn'd with *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and got together an Army of divers Countries consisting of 140000 Foot and 16000 Horse, by which he soon Possess'd himself of all *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes* the late King had given to the *Romans*. *Licinius Lucullus* and *Aurelius Cotta* being Consuls, the former, a brave General, was sent against *Mithridates*. He found the King before *Cyzicus* a City of *Propontis*, where he plac'd his Men so as to besiege the Besieger, and brought *Mithridates* to such Streights, that through Famine he was forc'd, first to send away his Cavalry and sick Men into *Bithynia*, whereof 15000 were intercepted, and then to retire himself with the rest that could escape the great Slaught-

V. C.
680.

ter

ter which the Romans made in their Flight. During the time of this double Siege, *Eumachus* one of *Mithridates's* Commanders, made Inroads into *Phrygia*, subdu'd *Pisidia* and *Isauria*, and endeavoured to do the like to *Cilicia*, 'till he was Repuls'd by *Deiotarus* one of the Governours of *Galatia*. But *Lucullus* improv'd his Success by Land by getting many Victories at Sea, where he took several of *Mithridates's* Commanders, and pursu'd the King himself. *Mithridates* flying with more Speed than Discretion, had been Cast away, but that he was receiv'd into a Pirate's Vessel, to which he was glad to commit himself in so great a Danger, and at length after many Difficulties, got into his own Kingdom, whither *Lucullus* pursu'd him, having taken in all *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia* in his Way; and this was his first Years Expedition.

Mithridates made all possible Preparations for Resistance, sending to *Tigranes* and others for Aid; and in a Years time he got together 40000 Foot and 4000 Horse, with which he once or twice worsted the Romans, and struck some Terror into 'em. But *Lucullus* found Means to cut off most of his Cavalry, which, with the Loss of a Battel soon after, so terrify'd him that he quitted his Kingdom, and fled into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who entertain'd him like a King, but refus'd to admit him to his Presence. All *Pontus*, except a few Places, yielded to *Lucullus* in a little time; and *Machabes* King of *Bosphorus* sent this General a Crown of Gold, and purchas'd the Title of his Friend and Allie. This was the fourth Year of his Expedition, in which Year also was finish'd the War with *Sparticus* the Gladiator in *Italy*. This Man with seventy four of his Companions having broken out of their Fencing School at *Capua*, fled away; and wandring through all the Country about, commenc'd a dangerous War in *Italy*. They had got together an Army of almost 60000 Men, most Vagabonds and such kind of People,

and

and all pretenders to *Liberty*, and had overcome many of the *Roman* Commanders, and two of their Consuls; till at last they were Conquer'd by *Licinius Crassus* the Proconsul in *Apuleia*, and after many Troubles and Calamities in *Italy*, the War was ended in the third Year by him. About the same time a *Lustrum* being perform'd in *Rome*, 450000 Free Citizens were Poll'd, the City still encreasing in Bulk and People, and the Inhabitants in Learning and Politeness, as well as Corruption and Factions.

Lucullus, having still the Management of the War, against *Mithridates*, follow'd him into *Armenia*, sending to *Tigranes* the King to demand him. *Tigranes* was a very powerful Monarch, having lately Conquer'd several Nations and Kings, which made him so intolerably Proud, that when he rode abroad he would have four of his Subdu'd Kings run by his side like Lacqueys, and when he sat on his Throne, to stand before him with folded Hands in token of Subjection. *Tigranes* being now abroad in reducing *Phoenicia*, *Lucullus's* Messenger found opportunity to draw over many to his side, who had been much dissatisfy'd at his proud Carriage. *Tigranes* at his return refus'd to deliver up *Mithridates*, and likewise to acknowledge *Lucullus* as a General, because he had not given him the Title of *King of Kings*. Whereupon *Lucullus* suddenly pass'd the River *Euphrates* with two Legions and about 3000 Horse, which did not a little surprize *Tigranes*, who first hang'd the Messenger of the News as a Disturber of the Peace, and soon after sent *Mithrobazanes* with 2000 Horse to incommode his Passage, leaving *Manceus* to cover the City *Tigranocerta* which he had lately built, and went himself to levy Forces. The while he was getting together a vast Army of 250000 Foot, and 50000 Horse against the *Romans*, *Mithrobazanes* was beaten back, and *Manceus* driven from the Cover of the City, and the Place Invested. *Mithridates* presently advis'd him not to hazard all in a

Battel,

V. C.
684.

Battel, but rather to starve the Romans, but he slighted this Motion, and jeer'd at the Smallness of their Numbers, saying, *That if the Romans were all Ambassadors they were a great many, but if Soldiers, very few,* pretending to over-run 'em with ease. But *Lucullus* posting himself upon a Hill, sent his Cavalry to provoke and draw out the Enemy so as he might break their Ranks, and then setting upon the Carriage Beasts, so successfully caus'd 'em to drive their Foot among their Horse, that great Confusion follow'd, and a dreadful Slaughter continu'd all the day; and *Tigranocerta* was surrender'd by means of certain dissatisfy'd Greeks in the Place.

After these Defeats, another great Army was rais'd, and committed to the Conduct of *Mithridates*. They both endeavour'd to hem in *Lucullus*, but were cross'd in their Design by his Vigilancy, and thus both Parties continu'd with little Action, till want of Provisions forc'd 'em to remove, *Tigranes* Marching farther into his Kingdom, and *Mithridates* into his, with *Lucullus* just at his back. *Fabius*, who had been left in *Pontus* by *Lucullus*, was overthrown by *Mithridates*, and after him *Triarius*, who foolishly Engag'd with him and lost 7000 of his Men. Soon after, *Mithridates* taking with him all the Necessaries he cou'd, and destroying the rest, March'd into the Lesser Armenia. *Lucullus* wou'd gladly have follow'd him, and might have put an End to the War, but that now *Acilius Glabrio* this Years Consul, by *Galinus* the Tribunes Procurement, was appointed to carry it on in his Place. This being known in the Army, *Lucullus* was slighted by his Men, and *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* began to be more Successful than formerly. In a short time, *Glabrio* arriv'd at his Province, and sent about to give Notice, *That the Senate was displeas'd with Lucullus for prolonging the War, had disbanded his Army, and wou'd Confiscate the Estates of such as shou'd disobey its Order.* Upon which all his Army forsook him, except

Ch. XIV. *The Consular State.*

273

cept some few poor Men, who had no great Cause to fear any loss of Estates; and *Lucullus* being out of his Command, *Mithridates* recover'd almost all his Kingdom, and did much Damage to *Cappadocia*, *Glabrio* not so much as coming to his Army, but lying idle in *Bithynia*. This hapned in the seventh Year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the War.

III. About this time, *Pompey* began to come into great Esteem among the *Romans*, having now a new Occasion of shewing his great Abilities in War, which was this: The Pirates, who had been first set on Work by *Mithridates*, finding their Profit so great, had now got together many thousands of several Nations, making choice of *Cilicia* for their Rendezvous; and seeing that the War continu'd, they thought it more Wisdom to damnify others, than lose their own Estates. They were now grown so Numerous and Powerful, that there was no passing the Seas, nor dwelling upon the Coasts; for they not only took and robb'd Ships by Sea, but also whole Provinces on the Land. They had likewise defeated several *Roman* *Prators*, and were grown so impudent, that they landed in *Italy* it self, took away several Women of Quality, and more than that, two Armies with their Ensigns. These great Affronts very much enrag'd the People of *Rome*, and a Law was preferr'd by *Gabinus* the *Tribune*, That some one shou'd be created *Admiral* with full Power against the Pirates for three Years, who shou'd have large Forces and many *Lieutenants*. This Law did not please the Senate, who now began to grow jealous of *Pompey's* Power; for to him was the Business committed, and he had full Power given him over all Persons upon the Sea, and fifty Miles distant, whether Kings or others, to oblige them to assist him in his Enterprize. The Senate also permitted him to chuse fifteen *Lieutenants* out of their Body, to take

V. C.
687.

200 Ships, and raise what Men he cou'd: But he obtain'd greater Things than these of the People, namely 500 Ships, 120000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, 6000 *Attick* Talents, and the Power of appointing 25 *Viceregents* out of the Senate, and Two *Questors*; so difficult it appear'd to destroy so many Fleets as the *Pirates* had, in a Sea that had so many Places of Retreat and Refuge.

Pompey with great Skill distributed his Lieutenants through the several Bays, Havens, Streights, and Windings of the *Mediterranean* Sea, furnishing them with convenient Shipping and Forces; so that the *Pirates* being rous'd out of their lurking Holes by some, might be receiv'd by others, and chac'd by the next, and none might need to sail too far. While he himself, like a King of so many Kings, sail'd up and down, observing, visiting, directing, instructing, and overseeing with that singular Art and Diligence, that in forty Days he scour'd all the Seas about *Africk*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica* and *Sicily*; and all the *Pirates* that escap'd, flock'd to *Cilicia*, as their common Receptacle. He soon follow'd 'em with 60 Gallies; and tho' they had prepar'd to give him Battel, yet upon the sight of his Fleet, they submitted to his Mercy; and so much had the Greatness of his Name terrify'd them, that in forty Days more, he reduc'd *Cilicia* to the *Roman* Obedience. Such of these *Pirates* as remain'd, being above 20000, he was unwilling to kill, and to let 'em return to their old Habitations was not safe: Therefore he remov'd 'em to Places farther distant from the Sea, where he gave 'em Land and Houses, furnishing their Seats with new Inhabitants. Thus after the taking of nigh 400 Ships, and 120 Forts, and the killing of 10000 Men, he finish'd the War in three or four Months, using the Conquer'd with more Clemency than *Q. Metellus* did those in *Crete*, which he subdu'd,
and

and thereby obtain'd besides a Triumph, the Surname of *Creticus*.

This Expedition still added much to Pompey's Reputation; and it was scarce at an End, when *Manius* the Tribune prefer'd a Law, That all the Armies the Romans had any where, together with the Government of all Asia, and the Management of the War against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, might be committed to him alone. This he did to curry Favour with so great a Man as Pompey, whom he had anger'd not long before by a Law of his, which gave equal Privileges to free'd Slaves with their Masters that made 'em so. The Nobility were extremely dissatisfied at this new Law, not only for the manifest Injury done to *Lucullus* and *Glabrio*; but also out of a high Jealousie of Pompey's growing Greatness, as being in a manner absolute Monarch of the Roman Empire, by having these Provinces added to his former, with the same Power of Peace and War; and which was more than all, a Jurisdiction over all Armies whatsoever; which Things had never before been conferr'd upon any one single Person.

But the Commons were very hot for the Law, being much incited by *Cicero* the renowned Orator, now *Prætor*, who in a publick Assembly made a noble Oration in Commendation of Pompey, shewing not only how very convenient it was for the Good of the Commonwealth to have a General with so large a Power; but likewise how absolutely necessary it was to chuse him above all other Men in the World, as being incomparably eminent for those four great Accomplishments requir'd in an Absolute Soldier, Conduct, Courage, Authority and Success, which had all been abundantly apparent in those numerous and wonderful Exploits he had already perform'd. This had so good an Effect, that when the Law came to the Scrutiny, it pass'd with little Opposition; and *C. Julius Caesar* lately *Quæstor*, is

said to have likewise favour'd it ; perhaps with Design that afterwards the People might be the more inclin'd to commit the like extraordinary Power to himself.

V. C. 688. Pompey having made what Preparations he thought fit, in a little time undertook his Expedition, in which he propos'd great Honour to himself. Yet he first sent to *Mithridates*, offering him good Terms, which the other refused in Expectation of the Assistance of *Phraates* King of *Parthia*; but hearing that a League was made between him and the *Romans*, he presently sent to desire a Peace. Pompey commanded him to lay down his Arms, and deliver up all Deserters; which occasioned such a Trouble and Mutiny in his Army, that *Mithridates* soon receded, saying, *He only sent to make an Espial, and swearing, that he would never be reconcil'd to the Romans, because of their insatiable Avarice.* Pompey marching into *Galatia*, there met with *Lucullus*, and much Contest there was between 'em. The latter affirm'd the War to be already finish'd, and that the Commissioners from *Rome* were to decide it; and when Pompey would not hear of this, he upbraided him with an unjust Ambition, Pompey retorting the Charge of immoderate Desire of Gain upon *Lucullus*. *Lucullus* still gave out Commands in his own Name; but Pompey, by his Edicts, forbad 'em, null'd all his Acts, and at last drew away most of his Army. Yet *Lucullus* at his Return was received with great Honour by the Senate, carrying with him among his great Booty many Books, with which he furnish'd a Library, that always stood open, to *Greeks* especially. He also was the first that brought the Cherry-Tree out of *Pontus* into *Italy*.

Mithridates had now got together a very considerable Army; and Pompey finding how he had wasted all the Country to hinder the Subsistence of his

his Army, march'd into the lesser *Armenia*, subject to *Mithridates*, who fearing he might become Master of that Country, follow'd him thither. Here *Mithridates* was in hopes to starve him, but was disappointed with considerable Loss, and was compass'd by *Pompey* with an Intrenchment of above eighteen Miles Circuit. Whereupon hearing that *Marcus* was join'd *Pompey*, he betook himself to Flight, having first killed all such as were sick and useles about him. But *Pompey* pursu'd him so close, that before he cou'd pass the River *Euphrates*, he forc'd him to an Engagement in the Night. The Moon being low, and on the Backs of the *Romans*, so lengthen'd their Shadows, that the Enemies thinking 'em nigher than really they were, shot most of their Arrows without Execution. Here *Mithridates* lost many Thousands; but he himself broke through with 8000 Horse, of which yet but 300 stay'd with him. Then wandring through the Woods with his Horse in his Hand, he lighted on some Mercenaries, and about 3000 Foot, by which he was convey'd into a Castle where he had laid up much Treasure. From hence he sent to *Tigranes*, who now refused to receive him, his Son upon his Account having rebell'd against him. Whereupon *Mithridates* fled to *Colchis*, which he had formerly conquered, and *Pompey* followed him, thinking he would not have stirr'd thence; but he immediately passed into *Scythia*, where partly by Force, and partly by Perswasions, he made the Princes of that Country of his Party, bestowing his Daughters in Marriage upon some of 'em, having still vast Designs in his Head of passing through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Pannonia*, and so over the *Alpes* into *Italy* it self.

Pompey in a little time left *Colchis*, and getting clear of the Ambuscades, laid for him by the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, directed his March to *Armenia* against *Tigranes*, who now resolv'd not to fight, upon the Account of the Rebellion of his three Sons he had by *Mitridates's* Daughter, two of which he had executed, and the third after an Overthrow had fled to Pompey. *Tigranes's* Ambassadors coming to desire a Peace, this Son so prevail'd that they cou'd not be heard; but Pompey invested the City *Artaxa*, which *Tigranes* immediately surrender'd, and strait came himself into Pompey's Camp, making him Mediator between him and his Son, who wou'd not so much as rise up to his Father, or shew him any Respect whatsoever. Pompey received him with much Civility, allowing him the greatest Part of his former Dominions, and his Son the rest, but took away all his Conquests, and fin'd him 6000 Talents of Silver for the Charge of the War. *Tigranes* was by these Articles forc'd to quit many conquer'd Territories, particularly all *Syria* and *Phœnicia* from *Euphrates* to the Sea; but his Son was very refractory, refusing Obedience, and threatening the Death of his Father, for which he was clapp'd up in Prison, and reserv'd for a Triumph, and sometime afterwards he was put to Death. *Tigranes* being now reconcil'd to the *Romans*, paid more than his Fine, and made Presents to every Officer and Soldier, for which he was accounted a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*. Pompey restor'd *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, giving him also *Gordiena* and *Sophena*; after which, with some Opposition, he forc'd the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg Peace.

V. C.
689.

Thus prosperous was this great Commander, who still design'd larger Conquests; and therefore passing over the vast Mount *Taurus*, he fell upon

upon *Darius* the *Median*, and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, for molesting the *Roman* Allies, or assisting their Enemies. Whereupon *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, who had been call'd into *Gordiena*, by *Tigranes's* Son, terrify'd at his great Exploits, sent to beg Peace of him, which he granted not, but sent *Afranius* into *Gordiena* to expel his Forces, and restore that Country to *Tigranes*. *Phraates* upon this invading *Armenia*, *Tigranes* sent to *Pompey* for Succour, who being unwilling to commence a War with *Phraates* without Orders from *Rome*, sent three Commissioners to make an Accommodation. As for *Antiochus*, to whom *Lucullus* had granted *Syria* for his Inheritance, he first intended to betake himself to *Phraates*; but upon Consideration, he resolv'd to yield himself to *Pompey's* Generosity. But *Pompey* having now possess'd himself of all his Country without Resistance, refus'd to grant him what he expected, and what he knew he was unable to keep from the Incursions of the *Jews* and *Arabians* on both sides of him. And the better to excuse himself, told him, That since the *Romans* had been at such Cost and Pains to conquer *Tigranes*, it wou'd be unreasonable that the Reward shou'd fall to another. Therefore he only allow'd him that Part of *Syria*, call'd *Comagena*; and a little Time after, extending his Conquests farther over the *Ituraans* and *Arabians*, he reduc'd *Syria* into a *Roman* Province.

The Time that *Pompey* was proceeding in these Expeditions, *Mithridates* sent to him to desire Peace; but being order'd to come to him he refus'd it, and went on in his Preparations for War: After which many of his Places revolted, and many of his Friends, with one of his Sons, were executed upon that Account. Yet still he design'd to pass into *Europe*, there to join with the *Gauls*,
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and invade *Italy*; but the Unwillingness of his Soldiers to this Expedition, and the Rebellious Deligns of his Son *Pharnaces*, caus'd his Army's Revolt, and his Ruine, his Son being quickly saluted King. *Mithridates*, now under Confinement, seeing this from an Upper-Room, sent to his Son to ask leave to depart, but in vain, who bidding his Father *Die*, he cry'd out with many Imprecations, *That he might one Day bear the same Words from his own Children*. Then coming down to his Wives, Daughters, and Concubines, he gave 'em all Poison, and fearing to be delivered up to the *Romans*, he took some himself; but having much us'd his Body to Antidotes, particularly to that Sort which still goes by his Name, the Poison wou'd not work, whereupon he wounded himself; but that not dispatching him quickly, he call'd to one *Bitrans* a *Gaul*, who got in through the broken Wall, and by his Hands he dy'd. Thus fell *Mithridates*, a Man, who sometimes in Fortune, and at all times in Courage was of the highest Rank; in Direction a skilful Commander, in Execution a great Soldier, and in Hatred to the *Romans* a second *Hannibal*, having made longer Opposition than he. And thus ended the *Mithridatick* War after twenty five Years, and eleven since it last broke out; a War, which in the Beginning happened to be dangerous to the *Roman* State, as creating other Mischiefs, but in the End prov'd very glorious and advantageous to it, by the Addition not only of all *Mithridates's* Dominions, but likewise of many other rich Countries in *Asia*.

Pompey, when the News of *Mithridates's* Death was brought to him, was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jerusalem* against *Aristobulus* King of *Ju-*
daea, who had depos'd his elder Brother *Hyr-*

cannus,

Hyrcanus, and usurp'd his Kingdom. *Hyrcanus* complain'd of his Brother to *Pompey* at *Damascus*, who likewise came thither to vindicate himself. *Pompey* us'd 'em both very civilly, promising 'em to come into their Country, and settle Matters between 'em, after he had dispatched some other necessary Affairs. Having therefore in a short Time settled Syria, and reduc'd *Pontus* into a Roman Province, he return'd to *Judaea*, being much incens'd against *Aristobulus*. He first sent to him to come to him, and deliver up all his strong Places, which he did with much Regret and Anger, withdrawing himself to *Jerusalem*, to make Preparations for a War. *Pompey* suspecting this, immediately march'd after him, which *Aristobulus* understanding, went out to meet him; and tho' the City was enter'd without Opposition, his Soldiers fortify'd the Temple and held out against *Pompey*, which caus'd *Aristobulus* to be taken into Custody. The Temple being very strong by Situation, made a vigorous Defence; but, after three Month's Siege, was with much Labour taken, and 12000 of the *Jews* slain, the Priests not neglecting to offer Sacrifices all that Time. *Pompey*, without any Fear, enter'd the *Holy of Holies*; but however such a Veneration he shew'd for the Place, that he forbore touching any Thing that was there. He restor'd *Hyrcanus* to his Priesthood and Government, but with a Command not to wear a Diadem, and took *Aristobulus* with him, making all *Judaea* tributary to *Rome*. This hapned in the third Year of his Expedition, and 61 Years before our Saviour's Nativity.

V. C.
691.

IV. While Pompey thus proceeded in his noble Exploits abroad, Rome it self was in great Hazard, and very nigh its Ruine, occasion'd by one of the most dangerous Conspiracies that had been ever known in the City. It was begun and carry'd on by *Sergius Catiline*, a *Patrician* by Descent, but of a very profligate Life; a Person daring in his Attempts, crafty in his Designs, greedy of other Men's Proprieties, prodigal of his own; one who had been accus'd of debauching a *Vestal* Virgin, and suspected of murdering his Son for the Love of another Woman. This Man having contracted vast Debts by the Looseness of his Life, grew desperate, and sought for nothing but Power and Authority, and, if it were possible, the Sovereignty over all; but his Designs being suspected, he twice receiv'd a Repulse in standing for the *Consulship*. This last time it was carry'd from him by *Cicero*, whom he therefore scurrilously abus'd as an Upstart and Foreigner, as being but of the *Equestrian* Order, and born in *Apulia*, and offer'd to kill him in the *Comitia*. The missing of his Designs, drove him into the utmost Rage and Fury, and brought him into that Plot, which he had formerly been engag'd in with *Piso*, for the Destruction of his Country. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, who before had miss'd of the *Consulship* for want of competent Bribes, also join'd with him, and afresh plotted the Ruine of the *Consuls* and *Senate*, the Burning of the City, and the Overthrow of the State; as likewise did *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other inferior Persons of debauch'd

debauch'd and infamous Lives. *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* were both *Prætors*; and the latter, who formerly had been *Consul*, was mov'd to this Design by a vain Confidence he had in the Books of *Sybil*, which he said portended, That the Sovereign Power shou'd be in the Hands of three *Cornelius's*, namely, *Sylla*, *Cinna*, and Himself.

This Conspiracy was carry'd on with the greatest Secrecy imaginable, their Numbers daily encreasing, among which were several Women, who by prostituting themselves had been maintain'd after a prodigious Rate; but afterwards, Decay of Beauty limiting their Gains, tho' not their Luxury, had greatly run themselves in Debt. But for all the Care of concealing this horrid Business, it was discover'd by the Means of *Q. Curius*, one of the Plotters, a degraded *Senator*, who neither cou'd contain the Secrets he had heard, nor the Crimes he had committed; but blabbing out all to one *Fulvia* his Courtesan, she discover'd it to *Cicero* who was now *Consul*. *Cicero* by examining of these two, found out the whole Matter, how often, and where they met, and what Designs they had in Hand, particularly his own Destruction to be brought about by *Vasguntius* a *Senator*, and *Cornelius* a *Knight*, under Pretence of a Friendly Visit. *Cicero* with a great deal of Diligence and Care appointed Guards in several Parts of the City, and presently call'd the Senate to the Temple of *Concord* to consult what was best to be done in this Time of Danger. Great Rewards were promis'd to any who shou'd make any farther Discovery of this black Conspiracy, and the whole
City

City was in a great Consternation, all in a Hurry, all in a Fear, not knowing whom to trust, or where to be secure; neither in War, nor in Peace, but every one measuring his Danger by his own Fears.

The Senate being now assembled, *Caecilie* to shew how well he cou'd dissemble, or to justify himself, went boldly thither; but none of the Senators wou'd come near him, the Place where he sat being wholly void. Whereupon *Cicero*, either dreading his Presence, or incens'd at his Boldness, stood up, and made a severe invective Speech against him, openly telling him of his Crimes which were both many and notorious, and saying, *Did that most honourable Person Scipio Nasica slay his own Kinsman Tib. Gracchus for a slight Disturbance of the City; and shall we, Consuls, tamely suffer a Person endeavouring to lay the World desolate with Slaughter and Destruction?* He farther commanded him to leave the Town, concluding with wishing Confusion and Destruction to him and all his Accomplices. Upon his sitting down, *Caecilie*, well prepar'd with all manner of Dissimulation, with a dejected Countenance, and suppliant Tone, besought the Fathers not over-rashly to credit vain Reports concerning him; nor to believe that a Person of his Rank, whose own and Ancestors Services had been so remarkably beneficial, stood in need of a ruin'd Common-Wealth. Concluding with many scurrilous Reflections upon *Cicero*; which not being hearkned to by the Senate, he left the House in a great Rage, breathing out Ruine and Destruction to all his Enemies. He left the City late at Night with 300 Arm'd Men, and *Lictors* with *Axes* and *Fasces*

Fasces before him like a Magistrate, and went into *Hetruria*, gathering together Soldiers all the Way, intending to return to the City, which he had order'd *Lentulus* and *Cerbegus* to lay in Ambush at an appointed Time.

In the mean time the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, now in Town, were also drawn in to stir up the *Gauls* against the Common-Wealth; but declaring it to *Fabius Sanga* their Patron, it came to *Cicero's* Ear, and so was prevented. The Day after *Carilene's* Departure, *Cicero* summon'd the People, and made a second Oration to 'em, wherein he congratulated the People and Common-Wealth for getting clear of so infamous a Person; and encouraged 'em, by representing the Forces of that Rebel as both small and inconsiderable. Upon this the Senate judg'd *Carilene* an Enemy to the State, and likewise *Manlius* who had join'd him in *Hetruria*; *Lentulus* also was depriv'd of his Office of *Prætor*, by whom the Ambassadors had been drawn in, who confess'd that they had often heard him make his Conjectures from *Sybil's* Books, *Cicero* soon after summon'd the People again, and made another Oration to 'em, wherein he reported the Particulars of the Discovery, with the Arraignment and Conviction of many of the Conspirators. *Lentulus*, *Cerbegus*, *Stalins*, *Cassius*, and several others being now secur'd, *Cicero* call'd the Senate, and propounded to the Fathers to consider what was to be done with the Prisoners: But in the Time of the Sitting of the Senate, great Disturbances arose in the City; for the Slaves and Dependents of *Lentulus* and *Cerbegus* had got together a great Number of Artificers and Rabble, who endeavour'd

endeavour'd to break in upon the back-side of the *Prætor's House*, and rescue the Prisoners. Upon Notice of this, *Cicero* went out of the *Senate House*, and appointing a Watch and sufficient Guards, he return'd, asking the Opinions of the Senators.

Now a great Debate arose concerning the Punishment of the Prisoners: *Silennus*, design'd Consul for the next Year, being first ask'd his opinion, according to Custom, was for putting 'em to Death, as were several others, 'till *Nero* dissuaded it, and *Julius Caesar* standing up, in a plausible Speech pleaded much for Mercy, and disapprov'd of Death as an irregular Way of proceeding, speaking to this effect: *If any Punishment might be found to equalize their faults, then I shou'd approve your Design; but if the Vastness of their Crimes surpasses all our Inventions, we ought to make use of such as the Law provides: Tho' I must confess that all the Tortures in the World are inferior to their Offences; yet most Men still remember what comes last, and in the Sufferings of the most Impious, forget the Fact, and discourse of nothing but the Punishment, if more severe than ordinary: And since the Porcian Law only punishes Capital Offenders with Exile, we ought not to bring in Innovations; for certainly their Wisdom and Vertue was greater, who rais'd so vast an Empire from such small Beginnings, than ours who can hardly preserve what they so bravely won. Caesar's Advice was likely enough to take, till Porcius Cato, Grandson to the great Moralist, stood up, and with some Heat oppos'd him, saying, That he had never pardon'd in himself the least Error of his own Thoughts, and therefore cou'd not easily forget the Misdemeanors of a turbulent Passion and Ambition*

on in others. That among the Ancient Romans Manlius Torquatus had caus'd his own Son to be put to Death, for fighting the Enemy contrary to his Command; And if, said he, that valiant Youth was so severely chastis'd for his over-hasty Courage, shall the present Generation hesitate what to decree against the most bloody of Parricides, and the worst of Men?

Cicero after these Speeches, made one himself, which was his fourth upon this Occasion, wherein he with a cunning sort of Mildness and Ambiguity inclin'd to *Cato's* Side, telling them, That his Earnestness did not proceed from any Malice or Anger, but from a singular Tenderness and Compassion: That they ought to consider that it was not *T. Gracchus* who requir'd a second Tribuneship, nor *C. Gracchus*, who claim'd the Publick Lands, nor yet *Saturnius*, who slew *Memmius*, that was to be call'd in Question; but *Burners of the City*, *Murderers of the People*, and *Assistants of Catiline himself*: And likewise that this Mischief was already diffus'd over all Italy, and beyond the Alps, and therefore cou'd not be crush'd with Forbearance and Delays. By *Cicero's* Speech the Senate were induc'd to put 'em all to Death, which the Consul saw done before the House arose; but *Cesar's* Mildness and Management in this Affair made several suspect he had some Hand in the Plot. As for *Catiline* himself, he was overtaken by *C. Antonius*, *Cicero's* Colleague, nigh the Alps, as he was passing into *Gaul* to compleat his Levies, where engaging most obstinately he was slain, but his Men fought it out to the last; and scarce any of 'em remain'd to be taken, or were found out of their Places when dead. Thus was this most dangerous Conspiracy

Conspiracy quash'd, chiefly by the Vigilance and Diligence of *Cicero* the Consul. Publick Thanks were given him for his great Care and Pains, and, at the Instance of *Caro*, he was first of all others stil'd Father of his Country, and that with loud Acclamations of the People, who said that tho' indeed they were indebted to several Commanders of that Age for Riches, Spoils, and Power; but yet it was to *Cicero* alone that they ow'd the Safety and Security of all these.

V. C.
692.

V. After these Disturbances were over, Matters were in a much more quiet Posture; but neither *Catiline's* Defeat nor Death was sufficient to settle the City in a firm Peace, but still she lay expos'd to the smifter Designs which some more ambitious Senators than the rest were always forming against her Liberty. And now it was that *Caesar* began to make a greater Appearance in *Rome* than ever, being this Year made *Prator*. He had before gone through the two Offices of *Questor* and *Adile*, in the latter of which he had acquitted himself with much Reputation, having also the Advantage of being descended from one of the most illustrious Families in *Rome*. He afterwards stood for the *High Priesthood*, and by his great Liberality carry'd it from two most powerful Men, and his Seniors; and scarce any Man in the City was more remarkable, either for his Gifts or his Bribes. He was now also arriv'd to a very high Degree in Learning as well as an admirable Skill in Eloquence, having already disputed the Prize with the most famous Orators, and scarce any thing appear'd impossible for his great *Genius* to undertake. Little was done by

by him during this Time of his *Pratorship*, besides composing some Disturbances occasion'd by one *Clodius*, a young Man of a noble Family, but of a scandalous Life, who being in Love with *Cæsar's* Wife *Pompeia*, had in a Woman's Habit enter'd his House in the Time of a particular Festival, when only Women were permitted to be present. This brought *Clodius* into much Trouble and Danger for prophaning those sacred Institutions, and caus'd *Cæsar* to put away his Wife privately, who being ask'd the Reason, said, He did not believe her guilty, but *Cæsar's* Wife ought to preserve herself from the Suspicion as well as the Crime.

The Heats and the Parties upon these Occasions, with the Factions and Divisions, sufficiently shew'd that the State was ready for a Change, and liable to become a Prey to Men of the greatest Power and Ambition. This *Cæsar* well knew, and thought of Nothing so much as the Greatness of *Pompey*, and of surpassing, or at least equalizing him in the Honour of his Exploits. Therefore upon the expiring of his *Pratorship*, he procur'd the Government of *Spain*; but having contracted great Debts by his bountiful Way of Living, he was retarded in his Journey by the Prosecution of his Creditors. Whereupon he was forc'd to apply himself to *Crassus*, a Man of vast Riches, of great Wit and Eloquence, and of no contemptible Valour; who being wrought upon by the Importunities of his Wife *Tertulla*, one who no less lov'd *Cæsar* than *Clodius* did *Pompeia*, became Security for 830 Talents. It was in this Government that *Cæsar* viewing the Statue of *Alexander*, wept to think that he had done nothing Great and Memorable, at an Age wherein that Prince had conquer'd the World. And he gave indeed sufficient Marks of his Bravery and De-

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V. C.
693.

fire of Glory; for instead of spending his Time in bare Administration of Justice, he pierc'd with his Arms farther into the Country, subduing certain People before untouch'd, and collected together so vast a Treasure to himself, by the Name of the Common Wealth, as enabled him afterwards to imitate that *Alexander*, whom he so much admired.

Soon after *Cesar's* Departure for *Spain*, *Pompey*, after five Years Expedition, return'd to *Rome*, cover'd with Glories for his mighty Exploits, and great Conquests: He had upon his Arrival in *Italy*, sent back his Troops to prevent such Suspensions, as might arise from his appearing at the Head of an Army, so that he obtain'd the Honour of Triumph with a general Applause; and with so much more Splendor and Magnificence, in regard that he now triumph'd over another third Part of the World, after his receiving the same Honour for the Conquest of two Parts of it before. The Triumph lasted two Days, and yet they were much streighten'd for Time, and therein were expos'd the Names of 15 Conquer'd Kingdoms and 800 Cities, with the repeopling of 39, and 1000 Castles. Among the Prisoner's led in Triumph, appear'd the Son of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter; as also *Zozima*, the Wife of King *Tigranes* himself, and *Aristobulus* King of *Judah*, with the Sister of King *Mithridates*, with her five Sons, and some Ladies of *Scythia*. There were likewise the Hostages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, with those of the King of *Comagena*; besides a vast Number of Trophies, answering directly to each particular Battle wherein he was Conqueror. The Gold, Silver and Jewels that made up Part of this publick Pomp, amounted to the value of 20000 Talents, which is 3740000 Pounds of our Money: He made it appear

year by an Account plainly stated, that he had advanced and improv'd the whole Revenue of the Common Wealth above one third Part, by this Expedition, without mentioning those large Sums he had distributed among his Men, whereof the meanest Soldier's Share was high 40 Pounds. *Pompey*, tho' he had obtain'd vast Honour of the Senate, yet was much fear'd and hated by many, as appear'd by the great Opposition he met with, in his demanding a Confirmation of all that he had done in *Asia*, and certain Lands for a Reward for his Soldiers: He had already prevail'd by his Credit in the Election of both the *Consuls*, *Metellus Creticus* and *Afranius*, but in a little Time found himself mistaken in his Choice: For *Afranius*, being wholly given to his Pleasure, never got much Authority in the Senate; and *Metellus* cancell'd all former Obligations, upon the Account of the Disgrace that was done to his Sister *Mutia*, whom *Pompey* had put away upon Suspicion of her too great Familiarity with *Caesar*. *Caesar* on the other side set all his Power against the Interests of *Pompey*, and *Lucullus* did the like, and desir'd of the Senate, and also obtain'd, that those Decrees of his which *Pompey* had formerly repeal'd might be in Force, and that those made in Reference to the Conquer'd Countries might be null'd, and withal stopp'd his intended Law for rewarding his Soldiers. *Pompey* upon this Usage, apply'd himself to the *Tribunes*, (which Office he and *Caesar* had restor'd after *Sylla* had put it down) one of which, by Name *Flavius*, propos'd the Law for the Reward of the Soldiers. *Metellus* the Consul oppos'd it very sharply, till the Contest rising even to Blows and Bloodshed, the *Tribune* caus'd *Metellus* to be sent to Prison; and when the whole Body of the Senate offer'd to make themselves Prisoners with him, *Flavius* plac'd his *Tribunal* at

the Prison Door, and forbad 'em Entrance. Upon which the Fathers caus'd the Walls to be broken down in another Place, and the Constancy of the Senate began to shake the Resolution of the People, who always judg'd of Things by their outward Appearances. This Pompey quickly perceiv'd, and desir'd the Tribunes to end the Business as well as they might, too late repenting of leaving his Army, and exposing himself to his Enemy's Hatred.

At the same Time *Cesar* return'd from *Spain*, the Election of new Consuls being at Hand: *Cesar* had good Intelligence of all these Disturbances, and the Reasons of Pompey's Dissatisfaction, so that he now resolv'd either to improve his own Authority with the Senate, or find Opportunity to quit their Interest: His Services in *Spain* had sufficiently deserv'd a Triumph, wherefore he desir'd it of the Senate, declaring at the same time his Design also of standing for the Consulship. Now these Desires were inconsistent; for the Law forbad Entrance into the City to any one who desir'd a Triumph, and requir'd also that whoever sued for the Consulship shou'd do it in his proper Person. *Cesar* therefore wrote to the Senate, desiring that these Formalities might be dispens'd withal; but *Cato* hotly oppos'd it, and his Opinion prevail'd, so that *Cesar* chose to wave his Triumph, and went to *Rome* and stood for the Consulship, which Honour he very eagerly pursu'd. And well understanding Pompey's Credit, and his Quarrel to the Senate, this he thought a fit Conjuncture to engage himself into his Interests. Pompey on the other side was no less pleas'd to gain a Man of such extraordinary Merit, especially when *Cesar* promis'd him to confirm all his Acts, if he cou'd procure him to be elected, whereupon a close Agreement was made between 'em. After this, *Cesar* made it his Business to bring his Friend *Crassus* into

into the League, who was easily persuaded to it, and a former Breach between him and Pompey wholly made up. These three made a firm Combination or Conspiracy, that nothing shou'd be done in the Common-Wealth against any of their Interests or Approbations, which they most solemnly confirm'd with mutual Oaths and Promises. This was the first great *Triumvirate*, which prov'd the Overthrow of the Consular and Popular State, being a Combination of three of the greatest Men in Rome, either for Valour, Authority, or Riches, Pompey being about 47 Years of Age, and Caesar 40.

Thus Rome lost her Liberty, after she had flourish'd many Years in a wonderful Grandeur; and this remarkable Union happen'd in the 694th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3945, in the 1st Year of the 180th Olympiad, 449 Years since the Beginning of the Consular State, 330 since the Burning of Rome by the Gauls, 270 since the Beginning of the Macedonian Empire by Alexander the Great, 205 since the first Punic War, 86 since the Destruction of Carthage, and 58 before our Saviour's Nativity, the Roman Dominions containing now all Italy, all Cisalpine Gaul, and Part of the Other, all Spain and Africk, all Greece and Illyricum, all the Kingdoms in Asia Minor, with Armenia, Mesopotamia, Media, Syria and Judaea, and many Islands besides.

The End of the Second Book.

THE
Roman History.

BOOK III.

*The Mix'd State of ROME,
From the Beginning of the First
Triumvirate, to the perfect Set-
tlement of the Empire.*

Containing the Space of 33 Years.

CHAP. I.

*From the Beginning of the First Triumvirate;
to the Death of Crassus, one of the Combina-
tion; which broke, and divided that Party.*

Containing the Space of 7 Years.

I. **T**HE State of Rome was now arriv'd to an extraordinary Height, whether we consider the Extent and Fruitfulness of its Dominions, the Strength and Power of its Arms, the Fame and Valour of its Commanders, the Abundance and Largeness of its Revenues, the Compass
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694

and Magnificence of its City, and the Numbers and Riches, as well as Learning and Politeness of its Inhabitants; but still it wanted considerably of that Glory and Grandeur as to Dominions, and much more of that Quiet and Serenity as to Settlement, it had not long after in *Augustus's* Reign. For now the State was full of Factions and Divisions, Briberies and Corruptions, and likewise Feuds and Jealousies, since the joining of three such potent Men as *Cæsar*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, which made many to fear the Downfall of their Ancient Liberties; and that their Fears were not groundless, sufficiently appear'd by the Event. The first Effect of this *Triumvirate* was the Promoting of *Cæsar* to the *Consulship*, *Pompey* and *Crassus* employing all their Interest therein: He had two Competitors, *Lucerius* and *Bibulus*; the former, a covetous, tho' rich Man, was taken off by great Promises, and brib'd to procure what Voices he cou'd for *Cæsar*. The Senators, resolving to have *Bibulus* one, made great Collections among themselves, and gave as much on their side. Even *Cato*, as rigid as he was, was persuaded that the Law which forbade all manner of Bribery on these Occasions, ought in such a Case to be dispenc'd withall, when the Interest of the Common-wealth so much requir'd it; so that *Bibulus* was chosen Consul with *Cæsar*.

U.C.
695. The first thing *Cæsar* did in this Office, was his confirming all *Pompey's* Acts according to Agreement, and from that time he wholly apply'd himself to gain the Favour of the Commons: And the better to do it, he preferr'd a Law for dividing certain Lands in *Campania*, among such of the poor Citizens as had three Children or more. This Proposal much pleas'd the Commons, and *Cæsar* had taken the most proper Methods to make it pass; for the Law was drawn up in Terms so very just, that no Man cou'd find fault with it. He declar'd to the Senators, *That he wou'd do nothing without their Authority, nor propose any of his Friends for Commissioners, or any Body that might be liable to Suspicion*;

cion; but that they shou'd be all Persons of known Reputation and Abilities. This fair and cautious way of proceeding hardly left any room for Contradiction; but still the Senate, that they might hinder it, and yet not seem to oppose it, adjourn'd the Affair from Day to Day: till at last *Cato* plainly declar'd, *That these Changes in State were not to be suffer'd*; and then all the Senate likewise declared themselves to be of the same Opinion. Whereupon *Cæsar* immediately had Recourse to the People, much complaining to them of the Injustice and Stubbornness of the Senate, taking also *Pompey* and *Crassus* along with him, whose Opinions he publickly ask'd concerning this Law. They both approv'd of it; and *Pompey* declar'd, *That if such as oppos'd it shou'd come with their Swords in their Hands, he wou'd meet their Swords, and bring a Buckler with him besides*: Whereupon a Day was appointed for the Publication of this Law.

At the appointed Day, the People gather'd together in great Numbers, and in spight of all Opposition, drove *Cato* and *Bibulus* himself with Stones and Clubs from off the Place; the *Consuls* Axes were broken in pieces, and the People approving the Ordinance, declar'd they wou'd have all the Senators swear to the Observation of it. Almost all took the Oath, except *Cato*, *Metellus* and *Favonius*, and they too at last made shift to away with it, to save their Fines, and likewise their Lives: for *Cæsar* caus'd the People to make it Capital for any one to refuse it. *Cæsar* made little use of the Senate after that, and from that time his Colleague *Bibulus* never durst appear in Publick, but kept himself at home for the remaining part of the Year. This manner of proceeding extremely alarm'd the Senate, every Body laughing at their Idleness and Negligence; and at the Head of those Acts, where the Names of the *Consuls* us'd to be inscrib'd, some merry Fellow, instead of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, wrote *Cains Cæsar* and *Julius Cæsar*, to shew that *Cæsar* Govern'd alone. *Cæsar* getting

getting clear of his Colleague, began to apply himself to the *Equites* or *Knights*, who much courted him; and having farm'd the Customs, desir'd an Abatement of the Rent. The Senate refus'd to remit any thing, but he soon procur'd the People to abate a third Part. By this and other ways of gratifying the Common sort, he perswaded 'em to decree the Province of *Gaul* to him for five Years with four Legions, for he desir'd nothing so much as performing great Exploits; and the remaining part of the Year, he spent in endeavouring to establish his Interest for the time to come. Therefore knowing how considerable a Person *Pompey* was, to bind him the faster, he gave him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage, a very vertuous and beautifull Lady. He likewise took care that his two Friends, *Gabinus* and *Piso*, should be prick'd for the following Year's *Consuls*; the latter of which had given him his Daughter *Calpurnia*. *Clodius* he got to be one of the *Tribunes*, notwithstanding his former Affront, because he knew him to be *Cicero's* Enemy. And having settled Affairs thus, and finish'd his *Consulship*, he departed for *Gaul*.

In *Cæsar's* absence, *Pompey* and *Crassus* were not idle, and the former had fill'd the City with Soldiers; and since both the *Consuls* were of that Party, the Senate's Authority was much weakn'd. But *Clodius* bestirr'd himself more than any; a Man so desirous of the *Tribuneship*, that he procur'd himself to be adopted by a *Plebeian*, because he was incapable of holding of it before. *Cicero* immediately perceiv'd that his Ruin was aim'd at; and his chiefest Hope was in *Pompey*, who had always shown himself his Friend; but *Pompey* had now sacrific'd all to the Interests of *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, and had lately been much offended with *Cicero* for his eternal Itch he had to be Jestling. *Pompey* nevertheless assur'd him of his Protection, and *Cæsar* had offer'd to make him his Lieutenant in his *Gallick* Expedition, which Imployment he had a good Inclination to; but *Pompey* advis'd him not to leave *Rome*, and *Clodius* found

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a Device to delude him with false Hopes of Reconciliation, that he might be born down before he was sufficiently sensible of his Danger.— In short, all the World conspir'd to deceive him, and that piercing Judgment and quickness of Apprehension that he us'd so much to value himself upon, became altogether unserviceable to him now, and he cou'd find no way to avoid the Blow when it came. *Clodius*, by his Distributions of Corn among the Poor, daily grew higher in the Favour of the People, and afterwards preferr'd a Law to forbid Water and Fire to any who had put to Death any *Roman* Citizen unheard, which amounted to as much as Banishment.

Now every one saw the Danger which threatned *Cicero*; all his former Constancy forsook him, and he went up and down the City, soliciting his Cause, in mourning Robes, long Beard, and unregarded Hair, attended by 20000 *Equites*, supplicating in his behalf; besides many young Noblemen, whom he had taught the Rules of Eloquence, among which were the very Sons of *Craſſus*. But *Clodius* still follow'd with a Party of Soldiers, insulting and jeering him with the Poverty of his Spirit, till it almost came to throwing of Stones at each other. But the Respect to the *Sacrosanct*-Office hinder'd *Cicero*'s side from returning the Injuries; yet nevertheless the *Senators* design'd to order a general Mourning, but the Consuls stopp'd that Debate, and *Clodius* summon'd 'em all to appear before the People, where *Piso* only said, *He took no Delight in Cruelty*, but *Gabinus* condemn'd what *Cicero* had done as to *Cataline*'s Conspiracy. *Cicero*'s last Retreat was *Pompey*'s Favour, who was able enough to have done him Service, but he wou'd have nothing to do in the Matter; and when *Cicero* came to prefer his Cause to him, he slipt out at a Back-door to avoid seeing him. He found himself now reduc'd to the last Necessity of taking up Arms for his Defence, which he might have done successfully enough; but not being able to bear

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the Bloodshed of his Country-men, he resolv'd, upon the Advice of *Cato* and the rest of his Friends, to withdraw himself: So he left *Rome* in the Night-time, and went to *Sicily*. After his Retreat, *Clodius* caus'd him to be banish'd by the Votes of the People 400 Miles from *Italy*, demolishing his Villages and his House, on the Plot whereof he built a Temple to *Liberty*, and set his Goods to Sale. *Cato* was soon after sent away against *Ptolemy*, King of *Cyprus*; *Lucullus* had retir'd himself, and *Crassus* minded only his private Affairs; So that now the whole Government of the City seem'd to lie between *Pompey* and *Clodius*.

U.C.
696.

II. During these Transactions in the City, *Cæsar* was very busie and diligent in his Expedition, by which he propos'd vast Ends and Advantages to himself, having not only *Cisalpine Gaul* allotted him, but the other also, which comprehended all that space of Land which is now call'd *France*, with a great Part of the *Low-Countries*, and some of *Germany*. His first Enterprize was against the *Helvetians*, who had wholly abandon'd their Country, burnt down their Towns and Houses, destroyed their Provisions, and were marching into *Gaul* through his Province, to the number of above 300000 of all sorts. *Cæsar* upon Intelligence of this, hastned to *Geneva*, and broke down the Bridge there; which caus'd 'em to send to him, and desire to pass that way without Disturbance. But *Cæsar* resolving not to give 'em Passage, delay'd Answering till he cou'd get all his Troops together, in which time he threw up a large Intrenchment from the Lake of *Geneva*, to Mount *Jura*, 19 Miles long, which forc'd 'em to turn aside, and enter *Gaul* by the Way of *Sequaniam*. *Cæsar* follow'd 'em with great Diligence, and defeating a considerable Party of 'em, they sent a second time to desire a Treaty; but that breaking off, 4000 of *Cæsar's* Cavalry were repuls'd by pressing too forward upon 'em. But they dearly paid for this Advantage, for *Cæsar*, after observing

ving their Motions a-while, easily brought 'em to a general Battel, wherein they were intirely defeated, and not above 110000 remain'd of their whole number, their Wives and Children fighting among the Carriages till they were cut in pieces. *Cæsar* crown'd his Victory with a more glorious Action, by gathering all who had escap'd, and sending of 'em all in safety into their own Countries.

Cæsar resolving not to be idle while the Season permitted, immediately turn'd his Forces against *Ariovistus*, King of the *Germans*, who had seiz'd on the best Part of *Sequania*, and used the Inhabitants with intolerable Severities and Oppressions. The *Sequanians* being *Roman* Allies, begg'd Assistance of *Cæsar* as a Man of undoubted Renown and Valour, who first sent to *Ariovistus*, and at last came to a personal Interview, where *Ariovistus's* haughty Language, and the Treachery of some of his Troops, brought both Armies to Blows soon after. Upon the nigh Approach of *Cæsar*, *Ariovistus* was much dishearten'd; for seeing the *Romans* come to engage the *Germans*, whom he thought they cou'd never withstand, it was so unexpected a thing, that he admir'd at *Cæsar's* Courage, and found his own Army seiz'd with a kind of Consternation. But what added most to their Fears, was a superstitious Fancy rais'd by their Augurs; which when *Cæsar* understood, he presently attack'd 'em even in their Trenches, and upon the Hill where they were posted, till he so inrag'd 'em, that they came down with great Fury to the Engagement. But they were all put to the Rout, and he pursu'd 'em for several Miles together, as far as the River *Rhine*, covering all the way with Spoils and dead Bodies, to the number of 80000, as some say. *Ariovistus* himself escap'd in a little Boat with a small Retinue, two of his Wives and as many Daughters being taken by *Cæsar*. These two great Wars were dispatch'd by *Cæsar* in his first Year's Expedition, which he manag'd with great Skill and Dexterity.

In the beginning of the next Spring, *Cæsar* was alarm'd by a great Confederacy of all the *Belge*, against the *Romans*, who inhabited a third Part of *Gaul*, and were reckon'd the most powerfull in the whole Country. He hearing that they had rais'd above 280000 Men, directed his March to 'em with all Speed; and bravely attacking 'em, just as they were plundering his Allies, the *Gauls*, he defeated and put to flight a mighty number of 'em; insomuch that the Marshes and deep Rivers became passable to the *Romans*, by the prodigious number of the dead Bodies, as *Plutarch* has it. But among those that revolted, all that liv'd nigh the Ocean, yielded without Fighting; Wherefore he led his Army against the *Nervians*, the most savage and war-like People in those Parts. These inhabited a thick woody Country, and so bestowing their Children and all their Goods, in some close and convenient Place in their Forest, they set upon *Cæsar* with 60000 Men, before he thought of engaging, or had time to encamp. They fell on with so much Fury, that they broke the *Roman* Cavalry, then surrounding the twelfth and seventh Legions, they kill'd all the Officers; and if *Cæsar* himself had not catch'd up a Buckler and rush'd through his Men into the midst of the Enemy, and his tenth Legion run in to his Assistance and broke the Enemies Ranks, they had all been cut off. But tho' by the Encouragement of *Cæsar*'s extraordinary Valour, they fought beyond their Strength, yet all they could do was not sufficient to make the *Nervians* fly, but they obstinately stood to it till they were all cut in pieces, not 1000 of 'em being sav'd. This was *Cæsar*'s second Years Expedition, and the Renown of his Victories made him formidable even in *Germany*, so that several Nations beyond the *Rhine* sent and submitted.

Upon the News of *Cæsar*'s last Exploits coming to *Rome*, the Senate decreed a solemn Festival for 15 Days, which was a greater Honour than any had receiv'd before him. Not long before which, great Stirrs had been

been rais'd in the City upon the account of *Clodius*, who, after he had got clear of his Enemies, began to prove a great Vexation to many of the Nobility, and even to *Pompey* himself; so that now he found it very much for his Interest to get *Cicero* recall'd from his Banishment. Whereupon he employ'd *Milo*, one of the *Tribunes* for that purpose; and using his Interest with many others, the Matter was propounded to the Senate, where it was generally agreed to. But *Clodius* oppos'd it with the utmost Violence; and when the Business was propos'd to the Body of the People, and promoted as much as might be by *Milo* and his Colleague *Sextius*, *Clodius*, assisted by a Party of Gladiators, fell upon the Multitude, raising the greatest Disorders imaginable: Many of the People were kill'd, the *Tribunes* were wounded, and *Quintus*, *Cicero's* Brother, was almost overwhelm'd with Dead Bodies, and the rest all fled. After a day or two, *Milo* seiz'd upon *Clodius*, and carry'd him before the *Prætor*: Whereupon a great Contest arose, and *Clodius's* Party were beaten off. *Pompey* presently possessing himself of the *Forum*, put the People upon giving their Suffrages, who with universal Consent voted *Cicero's* Restitution. The Senate likewise decreed Honours to such Cities as had entertain'd him, and that his House and Villages shou'd be re-built at the publick Charge. So *Cicero*, after 16 Months Banishment, return'd, sufficiently revenging himself upon *Piso*, *Gabinus* and others, by his Writings afterwards. He return'd in the second Year of *Cæsar's* Wars in *Gaul*.

The following Year, *Cæsar* designing for *Italy* himself, sent out *Servius Galba*, one of his Lieutenants, with the twelfth Legion and part of the Cavalry, against the *Antuates*, *Veragres*, and *Seduni*, Nations seated from the River *Rhosne*, as high as the *Alps*, in order to clear a Passage, and secure all manner of Traffick. *Galba* in a little time defeated a very great Party, who had been so bold as to attack him in his Camp. *Cæsar* not long
after

after returning, found that the *Veneti* and several other Nations of that part of *Gaul* call'd *Celtica*, had revolted, and these gave him trouble enough by reason of their Naval Strength, by which means they continually shifted and remov'd from Place to Place. But at last *Cæsar* attack'd the *Veneti* at Sea, and there overthrew 'em; *Crassus*, one of his Lieutenants, the mean time subdu'd the *Sontiates* with the greatest part of *Aquitain*, as *Sabinus*, another of 'em, did the *Unelli*, and all the Maritime Parts. Towards the latter end of the Campaign, *Cæsar* fell upon the *Morini*, a People nigh *Calais*, and the *Menapii* also, which two Nations were still up in Arms. But the Season being too far advanc'd, the Rains and foul Weather secur'd 'em in their Forests and Marshes, and caus'd *Cæsar* to put his Men all into their Winter-Quarters, which ended his third Years Expedition in *Gaul*.

U. C.
698.

III. As *Cæsar's* Conquests establish'd his Reputation in *Rome*, so his Humanity, and other excellent Qualities, absolutely gain'd him the Hearts and Affections of his Soldiers. He had now got great store of Wealth, by which he not only discharg'd his Debts, but likewise made many great Friends by his Magnificent Presents, especially to the Ladies, corrupting also the *Ædiles*, *Prætors* and *Consuls* themselves. In this Winter, he pass'd into *Italy* to *Luca*, where he took up his Headquarters, where there was so great a Concourse of People to pay him their Respects, that 200 Senators were present together, and so many *Prætors* and *Pro-consuls*, that 120 Bundles of Rods were seen at a time. Here the *Triumvirate* took new Measures, and *Cæsar* fearing he might be recall'd from *Gaul*, procur'd *Pompey* and *Crassus* to endeavour at the Consulship the following Year, and so continue him in his Employment for five Years longer. This Design was so displeasing to the Senate, that they went into Mourning as in publick Calamities; saying, *That the Proceedings of the Triumvirate*

rate were dangerous to the Liberty of Rome. Cato with a great deal of Eagerness set up *Domitius* to stand against 'em; but *Pompey*, resolving to remove all Obstacles, sent some Armed Men against *Domitius* as he was going to the Election, who kill'd the Slave that carry'd the Light before 'em, and dispers'd all their Company, *Cato* himself receiving a Wound on the Arm, and *Domitius* hardly escaping: And thus by Force both *Pompey* and *Crassus* obtain'd the Consulship. The People soon after being just upon giving *Cato* the *Pratorship*, *Pompey* pretended strange Prodigies in Heaven, and dismiss'd the Assembly: Then corrupting the Tribes with Money, he procur'd 'em to chuse *Antias* and *Vatinus*, *Prætors*. Then by the help of *Trebonius* the Tribune, the *Consuls* procur'd Laws which continu'd *Cæsar* in his Government in *Gaul* for five Years more, and assign'd *Syria* and the *Parthian War* to *Crassus*, and *Africk* and *Spain* to *Pompey*, with four Legions, whereof he lent two to *Cæsar* for the *Gallick Wars*.

Cæsar was now going on with his fourth Year's Expedition, which was employ'd against several Nations of *Germany*, who, to the number of 430000 of all sorts, being beaten out of their own Country by the *Suevi*, the most powerfull of all the *Germans*, had pass'd the *Rhine* into *Gaul*, and driven out the *Menapii* from their Habitations. *Cæsar* well knowing the Levity of the *Gauls*, and their Readiness to cast off their Yoke, resolv'd to hinder the *Germans* settling on this side of the *Rhine*. And tho' he perceiv'd that the *Gauls* had begun to treat with 'em, he dissembled it, and anticipating the usual time of taking the Field, he march'd directly to the *Germans*, who being amaz'd at his extraordinary Diligence, sent Ambassadors to him concerning a Treaty. He gave 'em a patient Hearing, and favourable Answers, but still continu'd his March towards 'em. At last the Articles were agreed upon, provided *Cæsar* wou'd stay three Days, but he wou'd allow 'em but one; during which time his Cavalry going out to Forage, met with

U. C.
699.

with a Party of *German* Horse, who fell furiously upon 'em, and put 'em to flight, pursuing 'em to their very Camp. The *Germans* sending their principal Officers the next day to excuse the Fact, *Cesar* detain'd 'em Prisoners, and advancing with his whole Army towards the Enemy, surpriz'd 'em, and cut 'em all in Pieces; after which, with great Skill and Industry he laid a Bridge over the *Rhine*, march'd into *Germany*, reliev'd the *Ubii*, granted a Peace to such as were willing to depose Hostages, burnt and destroy'd the rest, and at the end of 18 Days return'd into *Gaul*, breaking down the Bridge behind him.

Cesar finding he had time this Year to undertake a new Expedition, and led on by the Greatness of his Courage, and his Desire of Glory, resolv'd to cross the Seas into *Britain*; an Enterprize so very hazardous, that few but *Cesar* wou'd have ventur'd upon it. His Pretence was the *Britains* sending continual Supplies into *Gaul* against the *Romans*; and in order to his Design, he made great Enquiries of the Merchants that Traded thither, what sort of People they were, how they made War, under what Laws they liv'd, and which were their best Ports. After which he sent *Voluseus* to view the Coasts, in the mean time sending for the Ships he had employ'd against the *Veneti*, and making all other necessary Preparations. Upon the News of which, several of the *British* People sent their Ambassadors with Tokens of Submission, whom he sent back with good Words, and with them *Cornio*, the better to discover the Country under that Pretence. But *Cornio*, not daring to trust the Inhabitants, continu'd but five Days upon the Coasts, and then return'd to make Report of what he had discover'd. *Cesar* leaving all things in *Gaul* in a peaceable Posture, and *Sulpicius Rufus* to guard the Ports, put to Sea with two Legions and part of his Cavalry after Mid-night, and made the *British* Coasts the next Morning, where he found the Shores full of Men to oppose his Landing; and finding it impracticable there,

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he sail'd eight Miles further. There the *Romans* met with great Opposition, and were in danger of being driven back, till the Standard-Bearer of the tenth Legion boldly leap'd a-shore; and being well supported by *Cæsar's* Diligence, all the Army landed, and the *Britains* fled.

The *Britains* were so terrify'd at the *Romans* Success, that they sent to desire a Peace, which was granted 'em, and some Hostages deliver'd. But a great Storm arising at that time, miserably shatter'd the Transport-Ships lying at Anchor; and this, with *Cæsar's* want of Provisions, so encourag'd the *Britains*, that instead of sending him the rest of their Hostages, they sent a great Army against him; who meeting with one of the Legions abroad, had nigh defeated 'em, but *Cæsar* came in with timely Assistance, and brought 'em off safely. In these Extremities *Cæsar* lost no time in re-fitting his Ships, procuring of Provisions, and securing his Camp; and being afresh attack'd by the *Britains*, he overthrew 'em, and burnt many of their Towns, which oblig'd 'em again to desire a Peace. Upon which he requir'd a double number of Hostages, and finding the Season far spent, he again put to Sea, and return'd to *Gaul*, where he safely landed, only two Ships that had on board 300 Men landing a little lower, were set upon by the *Morini*, who a little before had been reconcil'd to *Cæsar*. They were soon reliev'd, and *Labienus* was sent to chastise the Revolters; who being reduc'd, he and *Cotta* harra's'd the Country of the *Menapians*, who had hid themselves in the Woods. Then was the *Roman* Army sent to their Winter-Quarters in *Belgium*, which finish'd *Cæsar's* fourth Year's Expedition.

Cæsar being very ambitious of enlarging the *Roman* Dominions as well as his own Reputation, resolv'd upon a second Expedition into *Britain* the next Spring, and made all necessary Preparations for it, the Natives having given him a fair Pretence by breaking their Words with him. At the appointed time he embark'd with

with five Legions and 2000 Horſe at *Iccius* or *Calais*, and landed in *Britain* without Oppoſition, where he ſoon forc'd one of their Camps with ſucceſs. About which time News was brought him that his whole Navy was extremely indamag'd with a Storm, and ſome of his Ships loſt; which made him retire back towards the Sea-coaſt, where with vaſt Labour and Induſtry he repair'd moſt of 'em in ten Days time, and wrote to *Labiennus* to build more. After that he march'd againſt *Caffivelaun* the General of all the *British* Forces, and after ſeveral Motions, and a bloody Conteſt, defeated him; which ſo terrify'd the Enemy, that they dared not appear in any Body againſt him after that. Whereupon *Cæſar* advanc'd ſtill further, and paſſ'd the *Thames* in ſpight of all Oppoſition, his Men wading up to the Neck in the Water. *Caffivelaun*, notwithstanding his reputed Valour, kept himſelf to the Woods and Foreſts; and finding that ſeveral Towns were ſurrender'd to *Cæſar*, and particularly his own; he alſo ſent to him, who receiv'd his Submission, took Hoſtages, and impos'd a certain Tribute upon *Britain*: Then finding the Season far advanc'd, and apprehending the Danger of ſome Tumults in *Gaul*, he croſs'd the Sea again, bringing back his Army with much Glory and Renown; where with appeaſing ſome Diſturbances in thoſe Parts, and relieving *Cicero*, one of his Lieutenants, who was beſieg'd by the *Eburones*, he finiſh'd his fifth Year's Expedition.

The next Year *Cæſar* perceiv'd that many of the States of *Gaul* were dispos'd to a general Inſurrection, in a great meaſure upon the account of an imperfect Settlement of Affairs the laſt Year; whereupon he re-inforc'd his Army with three *Roman* Legions, and as many Auxiliaries as he cou'd well procure. He purſu'd his Buſineſs with a great deal of Vigour, and open'd the Campaign ſooner than ordinary, thereby to break, or at leaſt to weaken their Union. He ſoon ſubdu'd and reduc'd ſeveral Nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Nervii* firſt,
and

and soon after the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and the *Menapians*; while his Lieutenant *Labienus* reduc'd all the People about *Triers*. After this he built a Bridge and pass'd the *Rhine* a second time, by reason that several of the *Germans* had enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Gauls*; where after he had made some Attempts upon the *Suevi* with little Success, upon the account of their running into Woods and impassable Places, he turn'd his Arms against the *Eburones*. But while he was ravaging their Territories, the *Sigambri* crossing the *Rhine* suddenly, set upon *Cicero's* Camp, kill'd many, and caus'd a great Consternation among his Men, but at last were forc'd to retire at the News of *Cesar's* Approach, who after that fell a-fresh upon the Country of the *Eburones*; then call'd a Council in *Gaul* for the punishment of all Revolters, and providing his Army with Necessaries, drew it into their Winter-Quarters; and so ended *Cesar's* sixth Year's Expedition, in the 701st Year of the City.

IV. During these great Actions in *Gaul*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, upon the expiring of the time of their *Consulships*, began to take care about their several Governments that were allotted 'em. *Crassus* was extremely elevated with the Thoughts of his Expedition into *Syria* and *Parthia*, promising himself greater Success and Glory than even *Pompey* himself: Therefore he was very forward and diligent in his Preparations. The *Tribunes* hinder'd the raising of Men as much as they cou'd, and labour'd to repeal the Laws made for their Expeditions. *Pompey* was well enough contented, sending his Lieutenants into his Provinces, being unwilling to leave the City, as he pretended, because of the Charge of Provisions committed to him; an Honour which *Cicero*, in Recompence for his Restitution, had procur'd him from the Senate, that so he might have Authority all over the *Roman* Empire. But *Crassus* betook himself to Force; which when the *Tribunes* saw themselves unable

U. C.
700.

able to withstand, they desisted, but loaded him with horrible and unheard-of Curses and Imprecations; and many exclaim'd against it as an unworthy Thing to fall upon those who deserv'd no Ill at the *Romans* Hands, but were now in Peace with 'em. But *Craſſus* valuing no Reproaches in this case, after he had got all things in a Readiness, set forward to his Province.

Pompey the mean time kept himself wholly to the City, still contriving how to make himself more great and powerfull in his Country: But the Name of *Caesar's* Conquests, which daily fill'd the City, began to prove ungratefull to him, who feared nothing so much as a Rival in point of Glory; And therefore he set himself to do all that was in his power to diminish the Reputation of *Caesar*, obliging the Magistrates not to publish any Letters they receiv'd, till he had fore-stall'd the Credit of 'em, by spreading false and disadvantageous Reports. This gave great cause of Trouble to many, who foresaw the Miseries that wou'd follow from a Rupture between two such Extraordinary Persons; and what still augmented their Fears was the Death of *Pompey's* Wife *Julia*, Daughter to *Caesar*, which hapned at the same time. *Pompey* most passionately lov'd her, and her Wit and Vertue had always a great Ascendent over the Dispositions both of *Caesar* and *Pompey*: The People of *Rome* gave sufficient Testimony of the Respect they bore her by publick Demonstrations of their Sorrow; and when *Pompey* wou'd have carry'd her Body to one of his Houses nigh *Alba*, the People wou'd not suffer it, but bore it into the Field of *Mars*, where they bury'd it with the greatest Magnificence imaginable. From this moment *Pompey* resolv'd to think of nothing but his own particular Advancement; and, for the restoring himself to the Favour of the People, he caus'd a stately Theatre to be built, which he dedicated by Plays and other magnificent Shews, which were no ways pleasing to *Cicero*, as appears from one of his Epistles.

While

While *Pompey* was managing his Affairs at home, and *Cæsar* in the midst of *Gaul*, *Crassus* was pursuing his Expedition with all Vigour. In his Journey he march'd through *Jerusalem*, where he rifled the Temple of a great Treasure, to the value of 10000 Talents, which *Pompey* before had spar'd. In his whole Passage he shew'd more of Covetousness than Valour, listing many Men, and then discharging 'em again for Money. He neglected his Opportunities of falling upon the *Parthians* unprovided, despis'd the Friendship of the *Armenian* King, who gave him leave to pass through his Country to *Parthia*, and minded not the refreshing of his Men in some City till he had certain News of the Enemy, and neglected to pass down the River *Seleucia*, as he was advis'd where he might be supply'd with Provisions by Water. This latter Counsel he rejected by means of the cunning Insinuations of *Abgarus* the *Osroenian*, who having formerly been a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*, was now in the Interests of the *Parthians*; and feeding *Crassus* with Money to gild over his Treachery, gave 'em Notice of all that was done in the *Roman* Camp. He likewise persuaded *Crassus* to leave of the Thoughts of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, and march directly against *Surenas*, the *Parthian* General. This Advice he follow'd, and thereby first losing his Son, a very hopefull Youth, he himself was circumvented by *Surenas*, under Pretence of a Treaty, and either slain by his Enemies, or kill'd by some of his own Men, to prevent his falling into their Hands.

Thus fell *Crassus* in the second Year after his setting out, one of the richest Men in all the *Roman* Empire, and by this, one of the Heads of the *Triumvirate* was cut off. This laid the foundation of the following Civil War between the other two; for while he liv'd, he was a Check to 'em both, and balanc'd their Interests; but after this, an open Field was left for their Ambition and Emulation to work in. This happen'd in the 701st Year of the City, nigh seven Years after the beginning

ginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 51 before our Saviour's Nativity, *A. M.* 3952.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Crassus, to the Death of Pompey; which made way for Cæsar's Absolute Authority, and was the second step to the Imperial State.

Containing above five Years Space.

U. C.
701.

I. **T**HE same Year that *Crassus* was slain, great Disturbances and Dissentions were rais'd in the City, Factions daily encreasing, nothing manag'd with the ancient Equity and Moderation, and all Offices purchas'd with Bribes and Money, or else gain'd by Swords and Clubs. The Consuls, finding themselves debarr'd by the Power of the *Triumvirate* from waging War and leading Armies as formerly, made it their sole Business to enrich themselves out of the publick Revenues, or from the Bribes as well as the Salaries depending upon their Offices. *Pompey* conniv'd at all this, hoping that the Imperfection of the State wou'd occasion him to be created *Dictator*; and for that reason he had retir'd himself for a while, that his Friends might have a fair opportunity of insinuating the Necessity of his Presence, as well as Authority, for the preserving of the Peace of the City. At the time for the new Election of Magistrates, there was such a violent Contention among the Candidates, that for a long time none cou'd be elected. And what still highten'd these Mischiefs was the Death
of

of *Clodius*, kill'd by his great Enemy *Milo* in the Country. The Body was presently brought to *Rome*, and expos'd all bloody to the People, which caus'd great Disturbances among the Multitude, who immediately ran furiously to *Milo's* House to set it on Fire; but he being well provided to receive 'em, repuls'd and kill'd several of the Assailants. They return'd to the Body, where they pull'd all the Magistrates Seats in pieces, made a Funeral Pile of 'em, and set Fire to it with so much Rage, that all the stately Building where the Senate us'd to assemble, was burnt with *Clodius's* Body. After this the Mutineers dispers'd themselves all over the City, where, under pretence of searching for *Milo's* Friends, they committed the most insupportable Violences that cou'd be; so that the whole City was fill'd with Murthers and Quarrels, till no body durst walk the Streets unarm'd.

These fatal Mischiefs turn'd all Mens Eyes upon *Pompey*, as the fittest Person to redress all; but while they were consulting about creating him *Dictator*, *Cato* drew the Senate to make him *Consul* alone, that so, if occasion were, he might be afterwards accountable for any Male Administration. This was soon after done, having the Authority of a *Dictator* conferr'd on him under a gentler name; a thing never known in *Rome* before, but upon some extraordinary Occasion, and for some few Days, when Commission was sometimes given to the Consuls, to take care that the Commonwealth receive no Damage. New Troops were allotted to *Pompey*, 1000 Talents allow'd yearly for their Pay, and the Government of *Spain* was continu'd to him for four Years longer, which he administred by his Deputies. *Milo* was accus'd by *Appius Clodius's* Brother, and tho' *Cicero* himself undertook to defend him, yet it happen'd, that by his Fear of *Pompey's* Souldiers, who surounded him as he was pleading, he was put out in his Speech; and so *Milo* for his Insolence was banish'd. And when *Cicero* afterwards sent him his Oration in

Writing, the Excellency of it made him answer, *That it was happy for him that Cicero was out in his Harangue, for otherwise he shou'd not have liv'd so well at Marseilles as now he did*; for that was the Place of his Exile. Pompey having hitherto executed the Office of a Dictator, took Scipio Metellus for his Colleague, whose Daughter *Cornelia* he had lately marry'd, a Lady of no less Accomplishments than Beauty. This considerably strengthen'd Pompey's Interests, who therefore now thought it an easie Matter to overthrow the Fortunes of *Cæsar*, waiting only till Affairs were somewhat more ripe for Execution: But *Cæsar*, by his great Policy and Industry, by his noble Exploits abroad, and his bountifull Presents at home, still secur'd himself a sufficient Party in the City. At this time, among many other learn'd Men flourish'd *Salust*, a most excellent Historian, both for Matter and Stile.

U. C.
702.

Cæsar had now almost finish'd his Work in *Gaul*, when the Troubles in *Rome*, and his Absence, occasion'd many of the Nations to endeavour once more the Recovery of their Liberty, pursuing their Designs with greater Vigour than ever, chusing *Vercingetorix* for their General. *Cæsar* resolving to lose no time, forc'd his way over the Mountains through vast deep Snows, and after some various Success against the Enemies numerous Armies, he overthrew *Vercingetorix*, who retir'd to *Alesia*, a City of the *Mandubii*, shutting himself up with no less than 80000 Men, and made all necessary Provisions for a Siege. *Cæsar* soon after invested the Place, and here he shew'd an admirable Skill and indefatigable Industry, in his vast and prodigious Works he rais'd against this Place, both to defend himself, and distress the Town, well knowing the great Numbers of the Succours that were coming to relieve it. For tho' the City, by the Height of its Walls, and the Multitude of its Defendents, appear'd to be impregnable, he met with greater Difficulties without, being in a little time besieg'd himself by 250000 of the choicest of the
Gauls.

Gauls. Yet by the help of his double and treble Trenches, his mighty Lines of Contravallation, and his wonderfull Management and Vigilance, he repuls'd the Relievers, and soon after became Master of the Town, to his great Honour and Reputation, all other Places submitting without delay. And thus ended *Cæsar's* seventh Year's Expedition in these Parts, which, as it was the most hazardous and dangerous, so it was the most honourable and glorious that ever he went through.

The *Gauls*, notwithstanding their great Losses, and the irresistible Power of *Cæsar's* Arms, resolv'd to try their Fortune once more, and many of their Nations join'd again in Confederacy. *Cæsar* having Intelligence of their Designs, began his March from *Bibraëte*, and made great Devastations throughout the Territories of the *Bituriges* in *Aquitain*, and subdu'd several of the People about those Parts. *C. Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants, also reduc'd some of 'em in the mean time, and *Caninius*, another of his Lieutenants, defeated likewise several other Parties; after which *Cæsar* join'd him, and invested *Uxellodunum* a City of the *Cadurci*, a Place very strong by Situation; yet he obtain'd it with little or no Bloodshed, by turning the Course of the Springs that supply'd the Place with Water. After this, the rest of the Places in *Aquitain* submitted, and going to *Narbonne*, he then dispos'd his Men into their Winter-Quarters, in such a Manner that they prov'd very usefull to him afterwards, in the Civil Wars. And this finish'd *Cæsar's* Eighth and last Years Expedition in *Gaul*, and all the Parts thereabouts, after a long, and almost uninterrupted Course of many large Conquests and noble Victories, to the mighty Encrease of his own Honour and Renown, and the great Inlargement of the *Roman* Dominions and Riches, as well as the Terrour of their Name and Authority.

II. Now the Jealousies between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* began to appear more than ever, and well might a Rupture

U. C.
703.

ture be expected, when two Persons, the greatest that ever *Rome* produc'd, were become Rivals in Glory; especially when their Tempers were such that the latter could not endure an Equal, nor the other a Superiour. *Cæsar* had now rais'd himself to an extraordinary Height both as to Riches and Reputation; then the Grandeur of his Mein, his unbounded Generosity, and his noble Actions, had entirely engag'd the Affections of his Soldiers to him, who all lov'd him almost to Adoration. Again, a great many of the Senators stood oblig'd to him for considerable Summs of Money, which he had lent 'em without Interest; he entertain'd with Magnificence all such as serv'd under him, even to the very Slaves; and his Army was a Refuge to all manner of Criminals, and such as were much in Debt, a great many of which he discharg'd at his own Expence; but for some whose Debts were larger than ordinary, he us'd to say, *That one Civil War would make all even.* *Pompey* had observ'd that *Cæsar* in his Consulship had render'd himself very distastfull to the Senate, therefore he made it his Business by his fair Demeanor to gain their Favour, which he did with good success. *Cæsar* was aware of this, and for that reason endeavour'd hard for the Consulship in his Absence, and likewise to get his Government prolong'd, trying all ways to keep his Army till he could get to be Consul. But he soon found that his Affairs did not succeed according to his Wish, being chiefly hinder'd by *Marcus Marcellus*, one of the present Consuls and his great Enemy.

U. C.
704.

Still Matters came not to any great Violence, but all things were manag'd with much Cunning and Fairness till the Election of the new Consuls, who were *Emilius Paulus* and *Calpurnius Marcellus*, a Kinsman of *Marcus*. Now every one with great Impatience expected to find how the Consuls wou'd declare themselves; the first had been well secur'd by a large Present of 1500 Talents from *Cæsar*, but *Calpurnius* was *Cæsar's* Enemy, and being carry'd on by the same Spirit with his Kinsman

Marcus,

Marcus, follow'd also his Methods. *Curio* was likewise one of the Tribunes, a Person of the highest Fame for his Eloquence and Pleadings, and of great Parts and Resolution, but now much burthen'd with Debts both for himself and others, and particularly for *Marcus Antonius*, one of his Collegues. *Curio* had been one of the most violent against *Cæsar's* Interest; but *Cæsar*, who well knew all his unhappy Circumstances, quickly found the Way to bring him over, by furnishing him with Means to quit himself of those Incumbrances. *Curio*, after this, made use of Practices very refin'd, forbearing to declare himself of *Cæsar's* Party, the better to penetrate the Designs of the other Party, and after that, sought an Opportunity to break with *Pompey*. In order to which, he demanded to have the Charge of the High-ways conferr'd upon him, although he knew it wou'd be deny'd him; and upon refusal, he shew'd his Resentment; and soon after, when *Marcellus* the Consul propos'd with great Earnestness, the recalling *Cæsar* from his Government, *Curio* applauded his Wisdom, adding withall, *That it was but Justice that Pompey and Cæsar should be call'd from their Governments together*. All knew the Meaning of this Proposal, and *Pompey's* Friends began to be very troublesome to *Curio*, particularly *Appius*, one of the Censors, who threatn'd to expell him the Senate, and propos'd it in one of the Assemblies. *Curio* submitted to any Thing decreed against himself in particular, but wou'd yield to nothing where *Cæsar's* Interest was struck at, and the Consul *Emilius* secur'd him from the Affront offer'd him by *Appius*.

Curio resolving not to be discourag'd, made the same Proposal to the People as he had done to the Senate, which was receiv'd with the greatest Applause imaginable; and as a further Testimony of their Satisfaction, they gave Power to *Cæsar* to demand the Consulship, without removing out of his Province. This caus'd *Pompey* to leave the City, under pretence of going to

his Government, but he really went no further than a Country House of his, where falling sick, he wrote to the Senate, *That he was ready to resign all his Employments when Cæsar did the like, which he would confirm upon his Return to Rome* Curio immediately took this Advantage, and told him, *It was his Duty to begin what he propos'd, and he would engage that his Example should be follow'd by Cæsar.* The Business was then debated, but ended only in an Order, that two Legions should be drawn out of Cæsar's and Pompey's Army to go against the Parthians; and this was only to weaken Cæsar's Army, for Pompey likewise demanded the Legion which he had formerly lent him. Cæsar knew the Reason of this Order, and Pompey's Designs, nevertheless he made no Opposition, but surrender'd two Legions generously, giving each Man five and twenty Crowns. Cicero at this time return'd to Rome from his Government of Cilicia, where he pretended, for his great Exploits to have merited the Honour of a Triumph. His Absence had hinder'd him from joining with either Party, and his present Pretensions obliged him to be a Mediator between both, but no Proposals of Accommodation would be hearken'd to; for Appian returning from Cæsar's Army, publish'd abroad, *That his Soldiers valud him not, and that they would certainly come over to the Senates Party, whenever they recover'd this side of the Alps.* This Relation gave Pompey great Confidence, so that Cicero could not be heard: And when he afterwards ask'd Pompey what Forces he had to oppose Cæsar, his Answer was, *That he need but stamp with his Foot, and an Army would start out of the Earth.* Many of the Senators began to talk meanly of Cæsar, and Cato himself scornfully declar'd, *That he would bring him to an Account for his Actions, and that he should be treated as Milo had been before him.*

Cæsar had often writ to the Senate, to desire to be continu'd in his Government as Pompey had been, or else be permitted to stand for the Consulship by Proxy.

These

These being refus'd him, he repass'd the *Alps* with his third Legion, and march'd to *Ravenna*, from whence he writ a Letter to the new Consuls, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Clodius Marcellus*, wherein, after an honourable Mention made of his own Exploits, he signify'd, *That he was willing to resign all his Power, in case Pompey did the like; otherwise they might reasonably expect, that he could not be insensible of the Injury that would be done him, as well as his Country.* Great Debates and violent Dissentions were rais'd about this Letter; but after a long time spent, a Decree was issu'd out, *That Caesar shou'd disband his Forces within such a time, and if he refus'd Obedience, he shou'd be declar'd an Enemy to the Common-wealth.* And tho' this Decree was much oppos'd by many, yet immediately after follow'd another, publish'd only in cases of Extremity, *That the Consuls and other Magistrates shou'd take care that the Common-wealth receiv'd no Damage; and Pompey was order'd to command what Troops were in a Readiness.* From that Moment a Successor was order'd to *Caesar*, which was *Domitius*, and all were up in Arms in *Rome*. *Caesar* receiv'd a speedy Account of this from *Curio*, *Anthony* and *Longinus*, who fled to him in Slaves Habits, in which Condition he shew'd 'em to his Army, telling his Men, *That the Senate had dealt basely and ungratefully by him, who had done 'em so many eminent Services, as well as unjustly and inhumanely by his Friends, whose Persons were Sacred by their Office, but were now forc'd to conceal themselves under the mean Habits of Slavery, to shun the Fury of his Enemies; and all for maintaining those undoubted Rights, which even raging Sylla durst never violate.* In fine, tearing his Robes, and falling into Tears, he conjur'd all his Soldiers, *That they wou'd defend his Honour and Reputation, after their serving nine Years under him with so much Glory and Renown.* The Soldiers all with loud Acclamations answer'd him, *That they were ready to revenge all Injuries done to their General; and thus began the famous Civil War, about four Years after the Death of Crassus.*

U.C.

705.

III. Among the many Warlike Qualities of *Cæsar*, his Diligence in preventing an Enemy, and pursuing a Victory, was the most admirable; and here he found it most necessary, since he had to deal with a Commander far more expert than any he had hitherto been engag'd with; therefore his utmost Skill and Policy was to be made use of. He first sent a choice Party of Men, arm'd only with Swords, to put themselves as secretly as possible into *Arminum*, the first City of his Province. He himself spent his time at *Ravenna*, in seeing the Combat of the Gladiators, and when Night came, fate down at the Table with his Friends, but soon rose again, desiring 'em, *to make themselves Welcome, and he would be with 'em in a moment*; but he had secretly order'd some Mules to be put into his Chariot, in which Equipage he set forwards towards *Arminum*, with some few of his particular Friends he had order'd to follow him several Ways, and one Legion, which was all he had there. It was a troublesome Journey, but they resolv'd to undergo it; so sometimes on Foot, and sometimes in his Chariot, *Cæsar* arriv'd upon the Banks of the *Rubicon*, a little River which parted *Cisalpine Gaul* from the rest of *Italy*. Here he began to have some Remorse, and all the Misfortunes of the succeeding War presented themselves to his melancholy Mind, which put him upon considering, what Posterity would think of this Passage. Sometimes he had thoughts of going back, and turning himself to *Agnius Pollio*, *'Tis now in our Power, say he, to return, but if we pass this fatal River, our only Retreat must be to our Arms*. Some Authors say, That just by where he stood, of a sudden there appear'd a Man of extraordinary Stature, who made excellent Musick with a Reed he play'd upon; which uncommon Sight drew many of the Soldiers to him, among the rest, a Trumpeter, from whom this Man snatch'd his Trumpet, and founding a Charge with a more violent Blast than ordinary, threw himself into the Water, and went over

to

to the other side. *Cæsar*, without further Consideration pass'd the River, crying, *Let us go where the Gods loudly call, and the Fury of our Enemies drive us.* From thence he march'd directly to *Ariminum*, and possess'd himself of it without Resistance; so, with 6000 Men only he began that famous War, sending orders to the rest of his Troops to follow with all possible Diligence.

This unexpected Enterprize gave most dreadfull Apprehensions to the City of *Rome*, every one imagining *Cæsar* at the Gates with all his Army; and it was an odd Confusion to see the Country People come running to the City for Safety, and the Citizens fly into the Country for Security. *Pompey* himself was amaz'd, and *Cicero* under great Difficulties, as appear'd by his Epistles upon this Occasion; but what was the greatest Trouble to *Pompey*, was the biting and reflecting Words of many of his own Party, some laying Indiscretion to his charge, others Injustice; and *Favonius*, a crack-brain'd Philosopher, very seriously bad him stamp with his Foot and produce his Armies as he had promis'd. At last *Pompey* told 'em, *That they shou'd not want an Army if they wou'd follow him; That it was neither their Houses nor their Provinces that cou'd inspire 'em with the love of Vertue and of Liberty, but Men of Honour might find it in all Retreats; and that their following him wou'd be the only Way to put 'em in a Condition of returning to their Houses with Glory.* The consideration of the present Danger, made 'em resolve to quit the City; so the Consuls, and almost all the Senate in great haste follow'd him to *Capua*, where were the two Legions which *Cæsar* had sent from *Gaul*. *Pompey* with all Diligence put his Affairs in order, and resolv'd to retire towards *Brundisium*. He left *L. Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to Command in *Capua*, who receiv'd his commission with some Reluctancy. His Affairs seem'd to be in a better Posture by *Labienus's* leaving *Cæsar*, and coming over to him, which he did upon some Discontent, expecting to have been made equal

equal with *Cæsar*. Still *Pompey* thought it most convenient to send to *Cæsar* with Proposals of Accommodation, which he did by *Lucius Cæsar* his Kinsman, and *Roscius* the *Prætor*. But the Demands on both sides cou'd not be agreed upon, for *Pompey's* Business was only to gain Time, having his chief Reliance upon the Forces of the *East*, which were absolutely in his Interest. *Cæsar* too, depending upon the Valour and Affections of his Soldiers, had no Design of quitting his Arms, but only to make it appear as fairly as he cou'd, that he had taken 'em up with Justice.

Cæsar now, without losing any more Time, seiz'd upon the Towns of *Picenum*, which lay in his Way, and in a very short time became Master of all that Province. This Progress re-doubled the Fears at *Rome*, and *Lentulus*, who was come back to seize the publick Treasure, was glad to betake himself to Flight. In the mean time the twelfth Legion came to joyn *Cæsar*, who marched to *Asculum*, which *Lentulus* had possess'd himself of with ten Cohorts; but upon *Cæsar's* Approach, retreated in Confusion, a great part of his Soldiers deserting him, as they had done *Curio* a little before. *Cæsar* march'd directly after *Pompey*, not offering to attack *Rome*, as knowing it wou'd fall of Course to the Conqueror; and the first Place that made any Resistance was *Corfinium*, the Metropolis of the Country of the *Pe-ligni*, which was kept by *Domitius*, who had lately rais'd 20 Cohorts out of those Parts. Now as this was the first Town that durst make head against *Cæsar*, every Body with Impatience expected the Success of the Enterprize. *Cæsar* made his Approaches with two Legions, and was engag'd by five Cohorts, who defended a Bridge about three Miles from the City; but were soon driven back to the Gates of *Corfinium*, which thereupon was immediately invested. *Domitius* prepar'd himself for a vigorous Defence, and wrote to *Pompey*, That now he had a fair Opportunity to hem in *Cæsar*, if he wou'd come up; That it wou'd not be for his Reputation to leave

so many Senators and Knights which were now besieg'd, as well as so many Soldiers, to the Mercy of the Enemy. Pompey's Answer was, That he was not then in a Condition to hazard all in a Battel; That Domitius had engag'd himself in Corfinium contrary to his Opinion, and therefore he ought to think of making as fair and speedy a Retreat as was possible. Upon this Refusal it was that Cicero became so angry with Pompey, as appears from one of his Epistles to Atticus.

Domitius conceal'd Pompey's Answer, giving out that Pompey wou'd bring speedy Relief: but at the same time consulted with his Friends how to make a private Retreat; which being at last discover'd, his Men seiz'd on him, and sent to *Cæsar*, offering to deliver him up, and surrender the Place. *Cæsar* concluded the Offer ought not to be rejected, but however kept his Men from entering that Night, to prevent all Violences. *Lentulus* being in the Town, came out to him, begg'd Pardon, putting him in mind of their ancient Friendship, and acknowledging the many Favours he had formerly receiv'd ut his Hands. *Cæsar* interrupting him, told him, That he came not from his Province to injure any Man, but for his own Security, and the Restoration of the Tribunes Office, and the Liberty of Rome. *Lentulus* sufficiently encourag'd by this Answer, desir'd leave to return into the Town to give the like Encouragement to others who were now desperate as to their Fortunes; and the next day *Cæsar* sent to the Senators and Knights who were in Town, with their Children, and the Officers of the Garrison. All these he protected from the Insolence of the Soldiers, and having a little made 'em sensible of their Ingratitude, he gave 'em all their Liberty to go where they pleas'd; and to shew that he as little valu'd the Money as the Lives of his Enemies, he restor'd to *Domitius* 6000 Sesterces, which he had deposited in the Bank at *Corfinium*, tho' he was satisfy'd that it was publick Money, and given out by Pompey to pay Soldiers. He caus'd *Domitius's* Men to take the Military

Military Oath to himself, and after seven Days respite at *Corfinium*, he march'd through the Confines of the *Marrucini*, *Terentini*, and *Larinales*, and then enter'd *Apulia*.

Pompey having Intelligence of what pass'd at *Corfinium*, immediately retreated to *Brundisium*, where the Consuls strait embark'd for *Dyrrachium* in *Epirus* with thirty Cohorts, *Pompey* remaining in the Town with twenty others. *Cæsar* soon after arriv'd, and having taken *Magius* an Engineer of *Pompey's*, set him at Liberty with Orders to tell his General, *That it might be for the Common Interest of 'em both, as well as the Good of the Republick, for them two to have an Interview, and not to trust Matters to a third Person.* *Magius* brought him no Answer back, which caus'd *Cæsar* to endeavour the Blocking up the Entry of the Port. To this purpose he order'd a Bank or Dam to be rais'd on each side the Haven, where it was narrowest, and the Water shallow enough; but where it was too deep, he caus'd several Vessels to be fastn'd together, thirty Foot square, moor'd with Anchors at each corner, and placed them over against the Entry of the Haven, with Design to form a fort of a Stacade or Chain: The first Bridge of these Vessels was cover'd with Earth and green Turf, that the Defendents might have firm Footing to fight upon, and the two Sides were furnish'd with Hurdles in the nature of Parapets, and every fourth Float carry'd a Tower two Stories high, to defend the Works from Attacks and from Fire. It was easie to judge for what Design all this great Labour and Pains was undertaken, therefore *Pompey* endeavour'd to ruin the Works, and to that purpose made use of several Merchant-Ships that were then in the Haven; upon which he rais'd Towers of three Stories high, furnish'd with Engines and all sorts of Darts. These he sent against *Cæsar's* Vessels, hoping to separate 'em, and hinder the Continuation of the Work, which occasion'd daily some little Skirmishes with Darts and Arrows.

Cæsar

Cæsar was still willing enough to come to an Accommodation, and sent to have an Interview with *Pompey*, but Answer was return'd, *That the Consuls being absent, no Propositions of that kind cou'd be receiv'd.* From this time he set his Thoughts wholly upon the War, half his Business being already done, by reason the Vessels which transported the Consuls were return'd from *Dyrachium*, which opportunity *Pompey* thought fit to make use of for withdrawing himself; and to secure his Retreat, he caus'd all the Gates of the City to be wall'd up, and several Houses to be demolish'd in the cross Streets. The Avenues of the Port were cut off by certain Pits, fill'd with Stakes, and cover'd with Hurdles and Earth, two only being left free, and those strongly defended with Pallisado's and Joysts, planted after the manner of Fraize. After these Precautions, he caus'd his Soldiers to embark with all imaginable Silence, leaving only some Archers and Slingers upon the Walls, who were order'd to make their Retreat in small Boats on purpose, as soon as his Soldiers were got on Board. The Inhabitants of the Town, provok'd by the Ruin of their Houses, advis'd *Cæsar* of their Retreat, who immediately put his Troops into Order, and order'd Ladders to be planted at the same Moment that *Pompey* shou'd give the Signal to his Archers, who, notwithstanding, secur'd their Retreat by certain private Paths which they were acquainted with: So that *Pompey* got all his Troops on Board, and immediately weigh'd Anchor: *Cæsar's* Men got over the Walls, and had fallen into the Pits prepar'd for 'em, had not timely Warning from the Inhabitants prevented it. This was a considerable stop to 'em, but not so great but they had time enough, with some small Vessels, to seize upon two of *Pompey's* Ships, which, through hast, had run themselves a-ground, while the rest made what Sail they cou'd, and sav'd themselves. Thus did *Pompey* with great Skill and Diligence make his escape; and thus did *Cæsar*, in sixty Days time, become Master of all *Italy* with little or no Bloodshed.

IV. Cæ-

IV. *Cæsar*, finding he cou'd not follow *Pompey* for want of Shipping, resolv'd now to pass into *Spain*, to drive out *Pompey's* Troops, all old Soldiers, under the Command of *Affranius* and *Petreius*; but first he design'd for *Rome*, to settle there some Sort of Government. He likewise sent a considerable Force into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, the one kept by *Cato*, and the other by *Aurelius Cotta*, but both were abandon'd by them upon the Arrival of *Cæsar's* Troops. *Cæsar* coming to *Rome*, compos'd a Body of such Senators as he found there, and call'd them *the Senate*; and when they were assembled, made 'em a fine Speech in Justification of all his Actions; then he propos'd the sending of Ambassadors to *Pompey*, but finding none to undertake the Office, he began to think of providing himself with Money, and his Recourse was to the publick Treasury, which he wou'd have had open'd; but *Metellus* the Tribune oppos'd him in that, alledging, *That the Money was Sacred, that the Laws forbid it, and horrible Imprecations had been denounced against such as touch'd it upon any occasion but the Gallick War.* To which *Cæsar* reply'd, *That Arms and Laws seldom agreed well together, and that he had remov'd the former Reasons by reducing all Gaul to the Roman Obedience*; and immediately went to the Doors of the Treasury, but the Keys cou'd not be found. Whereupon *Cæsar* sent to the People to break open the Locks; and when *Metellus* had still the Boldness to dispute it with him, in a Rage he laid his Hand upon his Sword, threatening to kill him, with these words, *Know, young Man, that it is harder for me to say this than to do it, Which so terrify'd Metellus, that he retir'd.* *Cæsar* took out 3000 pound weight of Gold out of the Treasury, and ever after that, had the Treasury at his Command in all his Wars.

After this *Cæsar* departed from *Rome* upon his *Spanish* Expedition, and knowing all *Pompey's* Circumstances, said with his usual Confidence, *That he went to find an Army without a General, and then he wou'd come back*

to find a General without an Army. He receiv'd News in *Provence*, that the People of *Marseilles* had resolv'd to refuse him Entrance, that *Domitius* had got thither with seven Gallies fill'd with Slaves, Libertines, and Peasants that belonged to his Lands, and that the *Marseillians* had call'd down all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Mountains to their Assistance. When *Cæsar* sent to 'em to submit, they return'd for Answer, That they resolv'd to take part with neither *Cæsar* nor *Pompey*, to both whom they had equal Obligations. *Cæsar*, incens'd at their Proceedings, immediately besieg'd the Town with three Legions, and order'd twelve Ships of War to be built at *Arles*, which were compleated in a Month, and brought before *Marseilles*. *Cæsar* finding the Siege like to be tedious, left *D. Brutus* to command the Ships, and *C. Trebonius* to carry on the Siege, and so departed for *Spain* with all speed, where *Fabius*, whom he had sent before, join'd him with three Legions, which, together with his own Forces, made a noble Army. *Affranius* and *Petreius* were then posted nigh the City *Ilerda* in *Catalonia*, with sufficient Forces. *Cæsar* advanc'd towards 'em and encamp'd along the River *Segre*, over which *Fabius* had laid two Bridges; but endeavouring to get between the River *Herde* and the Enemies Camp, a bloody Contest ensu'd, in which the Advantage happen'd to be so equal that both Parties attributed to themselves the Honour of the Victory, and both retreated to their Camp. But however *Pompey's* Party at *Rome* began to take Courage, and went in great Numbers to *Affranius's* Wife to congratulate her good Fortune, and several of the Senators went over to *Pompey*, and among them *Cicero* himself, tho' he took an Opportunity of leaving him again soon after.

Not long after this Battel, the continual Rains carry'd away *Cæsar's* two Bridges, and hinder'd the River from being fordable any where: Which reduc'd him to great Streights, not being able to get Provisions, nor to join a Supply of Forces that came to him from *Gaul*,

nor yet to rebuild his Bridges, by reason of the Violence of the Stream, and the Opposition he met with from the Enemy, who lay on the other side of the River. Upon this *Cæsar* caus'd Boats to be made, and while the Enemy were diverted by endeavouring to intercept some *Gauls* who were coming to join him, he carried the Boats in Wagons twenty Miles distant from his Camp, put 'em upon the River, and with a wonderfull Quickness and Dexterity caus'd his Legions to pass the River; by which means he rebuilt the Bridges. Thus he re-establish'd his Passage, got Provisions, join'd the Forces which came to his Assistance, by his great Skill astonish'd the Enemy, and gain'd so much Reputation, as, together with the News of *Brutus's* Beating the *Marseillians* by Sea, gain'd him five considerable Towns, and made several others Capitulate. *Cæsar*, who spared no Pains to distress his Enemies, threw up divers Intrenchments and Ditches in order to cut off the Water from their Camp, and to make the *Segre* Fordable. *Affranius* and *Petreius* dreading the Success of this Enterprize, resolv'd to reach *Octogesa*, situated on the *Iberus*, where they had sent a Party before hand to lay a Bridge over. In order to this Design they decamped at Midnight; but *Cæsar* sent his Cavalry after 'em, and made 'em ford the River before they cou'd come at their Bridge; then leaving his Baggage in his Camp, he cross'd the River with his Infantry, and pursu'd 'em so close, that they cou'd neither reach their intended Place, nor return to their former Camp. By which means he reduc'd 'em to such Extremities of Hunger and Drought, that they were all oblig'd to yield to his Mercy without any Bloodshed.

Cæsar, to shew his kind and generous Temper, dismiss'd 'em all, and satisfy'd 'em with incredible Courtesies, such as were never practis'd elsewhere towards Enemies. And in a short time after, he became Master of all *Spain*, sending back his Enemies loaden with Shame and Obligations to publish his Clemency and Valour, while he himself

himself departed for *Marseilles*, which was then just upon the point of yielding. Upon *Cæsar's* arrival, they capitulated: During which time *Domitius* made his escape by Sea; *Cæsar* pardon'd the Inhabitants, more upon the account of their Name and Antiquity, as he told 'em, than for any other Merit, and leaving two Legions in Garrison, he departed for *Rome*. Upon his arrival there, he was receiv'd with great Satisfaction by most People, and made *Dictator* by *M. Lepidus* the *Prætor*; but finding this Office not well lik'd of, he laid it down after holding of it eleven Days, and caus'd himself to be chosen Consul with *Servilius Isauricus*. His Design was now to make himself as many Friends as possible; in pursuance of which Purpose he preferr'd several favourable Laws; the first was concerning the borrowing of Money for the War, which, as it usually happens, having ruin'd almost all Credit, and render'd a great many Men incapable of Payment, *Cæsar* order'd, that an Estimate should be made of Inheritances, at the same Value they bore before the War, and that Creditors should take them according to his Estimation; by which means he took away the Fears of a general Bankruptcy, and supported the Credit of the Debtors. Besides, he drew over to his Party all such as expected to be favour'd in this general Valuation, which was the first Design of the Law. The other Law was, for the calling home those who had been condemn'd during *Pompey's* presiding in the passing Sentences of Justice. *Cæsar* likewise made several other Ordinances, and after having quitted the Name and Dignity of *Dictator*, departed for *Brundisium* to go against *Pompey*, before which time he receiv'd the bad News of the Defeat and Death of *Curio*, whom he had sent against *Varnus*, *Pompey's* Lieutenant in *Africk*.

Dic. lxxi.
U. C.
706.

V. *Pompey*, after his Departure from *Italy* into *Epirus* and *Greece*, had made all possible Preparations for Resistance, drawing over all the *East* to his Interest;

and during the time of *Cæsar's* being at *Rome* and in *Spain*, had got together very powerfull Armies both by Sea and Land. His Land Forces consisted of nine *Italian* Legions effective, besides the two which *Scipio*, his Brother-in-law, brought him; and the Auxiliaries from the Eastern Countries of 7000 Horse, 3000 Archers, and eight Cohorts of Slingers: These Troops were distributed into *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, and over all that Coast, to oppose the coming down of *Cæsar*. And more than this, he had prepar'd a noble Fleet of 500 great Ships, besides Gallies, Brigantines, and other lesser Vessels; all which were commanded in chief by *Bibulus*, who executed the Office of Admiral: Besides these Forces, *Pompey* had drawn great Summs of Money out of *Asia* and *Greece*, and to recompence himself in some measure for the loss of *Spain*, had caus'd *Dolabella* and *Caius Antonius*, who commanded for *Cæsar* on the Coast of *Illyricum*, to be attack'd, and with that Success, that the former was driven out and the latter taken. These Advantages, which daily kept up the Reputation of *Pompey's* Party, still engag'd more Persons of Consideration to come and join themselves with him, so that he found he had in his Camp above 200 Senators, whereof he compos'd a Body, and they assembled themselves in the Form of a *Senate*. In one of these Assemblies, by the politick Advice of *Cato*, it was determin'd, That no *Roman* Citizen should be put to Death out of Battel, and that no Town subject to the *Roman* Empire shou'd be sack'd. In effect, this laudable Decree drew the good Wishes of the People upon the honourable Authors of it, and gain'd the Reputation of great Justice and Humanity to their Designs, and likewise was the Occasion that the Fortune of *Cæsar* hung for a long time doubtfull, and was afterwards made use of to justify his being put to Death.

Notwithstanding these Disadvantages on *Cæsar's* side, he proceeded with an uncommon Vigour, and undaunted Courage, and Rendezvouzing at *Brundisium*, he, without

without any Delay, shipp'd off five of his twelve Legions, which amounted to no more than 20000 Foot and 6000 Horse at this time; the rest were forc'd to stay behind for want of Shipping. *Cæsar* very much encourag'd his Men, telling 'em what glorious Actions they were going to undertake; and in spite of the Rigour of the Season, upon the fourth of *January*, he weigh'd Anchor. This much surpris'd the Officers of *Pompey's* Fleet, to find him venture so boldly through the Dangers both of the Weather and their Navies. But *Cæsar* tim'd it so well, that he made his Passage in one Day, and landed his Men at a Place call'd *Pharsalus*, not daring to venture into any known Port, which he believ'd to be possess'd by the Enemy. Having once got to Land, he sent back all the Ships to transport the rest of his Legions under the Command of *Calenus*, but in their Passage 30 of 'em fell into the Hands of *Bibulus*, *Pompey's* Admiral, who, sensible of his former Neglect, and in a great Passion, set 'em all on Fire, destroying both Owners and Seamen, hoping by this Example to terrify the rest; and for the future he took more than ordinary Care in guarding the Coasts. In the mean time *Cæsar* took possession of *Orica* and *Apollonia*, who, at sight of his Troops surrender'd themselves; by which means he cut off all Communication of Land from *Bibulus* as long as he staid to intercept his Fleet. *Cæsar* still took care to justify his Actions, and for that reason he sent *Rufus*, whom he had twice taken Prisoner, to *Pompey*, once more to offer a Treaty, and to referr all to the Senate and People of *Rome*; which prov'd of no effect, for the People of *Rome* were too much of *Cæsar's* Party to be trusted by *Pompey*.

Pompey was now in *Macedonia*, where *Rufus* join'd him, and fearing least *Cæsar* shou'd become Master of *Dyrrachium*, where all his Ammunition lay, he march'd with his whole Army to save that Place. Upon his arrival at that City, the Laziness and Desertion of many of his new-raisd Troops, made him cause all his

Soldiers to swear, *That they would never abandon their General, but follow him through all his Fortunes*; which Oath was likewise taken by all the Officers. He encamp'd by the River *Apsus*, and *Cæsar* had lodg'd his Army not far off, on the other side of the River, to cover *Apollonia*, and both remain'd in this manner for some time, impatiently expecting the Succours that were to come up. But the Absence of *Cæsar's* Legions at *Brundisium* was a great Vexation to him, whose Passage was chiefly obstructed by *Bibulus* at Sea; and *Bibulus* himself was in as ill a Condition, by being hinder'd of the Conveniencies of Land by *Cæsar's* Troops. At last *Bibulus* dying of a Sickness at Sea, and leaving no Commander in chief to succeed him, much less Care was taken than before. *Cæsar* was sensible of this favourable Opportunity, but was almost despairing that his Troops were not arriv'd as soon as he expected 'em, for he had written several times. At last, his great Impatience drove him upon an Action which nothing could excuse but the extraordinary Confidence he always had in his good Fortune, which was this: He disguis'd himself in the Habit of a Slave, and with all imaginable Secrecy, put himself on Board a Fisher-man's Bark, at the Mouth of the River *Apsus*, with a Design to go to *Brundisium*, where his Forces lay. They went out in the beginning of the Night, but a stiff Gale of Wind at the Mouth of the River made the Water very rough, and the Master and Rowers made several Attempts to get out to Sea, but the Winds encreasing, he order'd 'em to forbear. *Cæsar* finding his Design like to be fruitless, on a sudden discover'd himself, *Fear nothing*, said he, *for thou carriest Cæsar and all his Fortune*: the Mariners, encourag'd by the Presence of so great a Man, made fresh Endeavours, and got into the Sea, but the Waves ran so high, that they were at last forc'd to return to Land. *Cæsar's* Soldiers ran to him in great Multitudes, and told him with a great deal of Affection, *That he had reflected upon their Courages by going to*
seek

seek out new Forces, when they were sure to Conquer without, while he was pleas'd to head 'em.

In a little time after, *Cæsar* receiv'd the good News of the safe Arrival of most of his Troops under the Command of *Marc Anthony* and *Calenus*, at *Apollonia*, which consisted of three Veteran Legions, one new-raisd, and 800 Horse. They were closely pursu'd by *Caponius*, Admiral of the *Rhodian* Squadron, sixteen of whose Vessels perish'd by the sudden Turning of the Wind, and the Badness of the Weather. But two of *Cæsar's* Ships behind, were pick'd up by the Enemy, and the Soldiers of one put to the Sword; but those of the other, being old Soldiers, by bravely defending themselves, escaped. The nigh Distance of *Cæsar's* and *Pompey's* Armies, had occasion'd several Parlies as well as Skirmishes; and here the last Propositions of Accommodation were made. *Pompey* said, *He wou'd never endure that the World shou'd say that his Life and Return was a Favour bestow'd upon him by Cæsar*; and *Labienus* cry'd out, *That nothing cou'd make a Composition but Cæsar's Head*. These Treaties therefore being successless, *Cæsar* decamp'd to joyn *Anthony*, and *Pompey* did the like to hinder him. He had no River to pass as *Cæsar* had, but went and posted himself in a Place which he thought most convenient for an Ambuscade, which he had laid for *Anthony*; but he being advis'd of it by the *Greeks* of the Country, entrench'd himself in an advantageous Post, where he staid for *Cæsar*, who soon after arriv'd; and *Pompey* fearing to be hemm'd in between the two Armies, retreated to *Asparagus* nigh *Dyracchium*, leaving *Anthony* the liberty of joyning *Cæsar*, which he did the same day. Thus these two great Men, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, at the Head of all their Troops, were in a Readiness to dispute the Empire of the World, and, what was still more valuable to them, the Pre-eminence of all that Glory and Renown that they had gotten by their Arms, one in the *West*, and the other in the *East*: And as these Actions were perhaps more Remarkable than any before

'em, especially as to matter of Conduct, so it may be convenient to be somewhat more particular in relating of 'em.

VI. Great Skill and excellent Management was us'd by both Generals ; and *Cæsar* resolving not to be out-brav'd by the Rival of his Honour, march'd directly towards *Pompey* at *Asparagus* ; and after three Days March he came in sight of the Enemy's Camp, and fortify'd his own, from whence the next Day he drew out his Troops to offer him Battel. *Pompey* stirr'd not, and from that Moment *Cæsar* perceiv'd he must take other Measures. And the next Day he decamp'd to go towards *Dyrrachium*, with design either of reducing *Pompey* to shut himself up in the Town, or to cut off his Passage to such a very usefull Place, which last in part succeeded. *Pompey* at first believ'd that *Cæsar* was forc'd to draw off for want of Provision, but understanding his Design by Spies and others, the next Day began to march, hoping to prevent *Cæsar* by a shorter Way than he was forc'd to take. Which *Cæsar* being aware of, encourag'd his Soldiers what he cou'd, and left 'em but a small Part of the Night for Rest, and arriv'd the next Morning under the Walls of *Dyrrachium*, when they began to discover the Van of *Pompey's* Army, who immediately secur'd a Hill call'd *Petra*, which commanded the Sea, under which was a small Shelter for Ships, where few Winds cou'd annoy 'em. Both Parties intrench'd themselves in the Posts they had taken ; and *Pompey* caus'd part of his Ships to come under his Camp, and immediately sent into *Asia* and other Parts for Provisions and Ammunition. *Cæsar* perceiving then that the War was like to last long, and finding the Want of Corn, caus'd Magazines to be made in all Parts not in the Enemy's Hands ; and notwithstanding all his Diligence and Care, the Disadvantages he labour'd under caus'd his Army to be but ill furnish'd at last.

The Inconveniencies that were like to follow from hence, put *Cæsar* upon a new Design: All round *Pompey's* Camp were certain little Hills high and steep, which *Cæsar* possess'd himself of, and built Towers upon 'em in the nature of Redoubts; then causing Lines of Communication to be drawn from Hill to Hill, and other Works, he endeavour'd to Block up *Pompey* by that Circumvallation. This was done chiefly to lessen the mighty Reputation that *Pompey* had got among Foreign Nations, when all the World shou'd know that he was invested by *Cæsar*, and dared not hazard a Battel. But *Pompey* resolv'd to venture any Scandal rather than a Battel at this time, or to quit either *Dyrrachium* or the Sea; so that both Parties at present were employ'd in Designs and Stratagems. *Cæsar's* Men daily carry'd on their Works to straighten the Enemy, and those of *Pompey* did the same to enlarge themselves, they having the Advantage as to Numbers; besides, theirs being the innermost Circumvallation, was not extended so far as *Cæsar's*. Tho' *Pompey* declin'd coming to a Battel, yet he sorely gall'd *Cæsar's* Men with his Archers and Slingers, which oblig'd 'em to make certain Blinds with Clothes and Skins for their Defence against the Arrows; and no Day pass'd without some Encounter or other, particularly when *Cæsar's* ninth Legion was too far advanc'd, *Cæsar* brought it off safely when *Pompey* before believ'd it impossible. It is very remarkable to find *Cæsar* besieging an Enemy stronger than himself, and supply'd with all Provisions by Sea, while he himself was reduc'd to extream Necessity for want of Corn. Yet his Soldiers bore all with admirable Constancy, remembering what great Honours they had often gain'd after such Miseries as these. They made use of Beans and Barley, and a Root call'd *Chara*, which they mingled with Milk, some of which they often threw among *Pompey's* Soldiers, telling 'em, *That they wou'd rather eat the Barks of Trees, than let Pompey escape, now they had got him in their Power.* He was extreamly surpriz'd at it, and said,

said, *That he did not expect to have had Wild Beasts to deal withall.*

But afterwards when Summer came on, there was a great Change ; for *Pompey's* Army cou'd hardly be kept alive, being most distress'd for want of Water, which *Cæsar* by Dams and other Methods had turn'd another Way. On the contrary, *Cæsar's* Army was in very good Health, well furnish'd with Water and all Provisions, except Wheat ; of which also they had fair Hopes, Harvest being so nigh at hand. After this, follow'd several Skirmishes, and one Night *Pompey*, understanding *Cæsar* was absent a little way, attack'd his Works, but was beaten off with considerable Loss, and forc'd to retreat into his old Trenches. In this Encounter one *Scæva* a Centurion behav'd himself with a wonderfull Bravery, killing two Officers after he had been wounded in the Eye, Shoulder and Thigh, as *Appian* relates it, and receiving 230 Shots upon his Buckler. *Cæsar* greatly rewarded him and many others, and encourag'd by this Good Success, went every Day and offer'd Battel to *Pompey* within view of his Lines ; and tho' *Pompey* drew out also in Battalia, yet he always kept his Troops under Defence of his Ramparts, where *Cæsar* did not think fit to attack him. *Cæsar* had now by means of his Officers drawn several Provinces of *Greece* to his Party, and understanding that *Scipio* was come into *Macedonia*, he sent to him to procure an Accommodation between him and *Pompey*, which he might easily bring about, as having the Command of an Army. But *Cæsar* finding this not to succeed, apply'd himself more closely to Block up *Pompey*, and with the utmost Art and Diligence, which brought him to a worse Condition than ever ; for his Horses had made an End of all their Barley, and likewise all the Leaves of the Trees, so that there remained no more Subsistence for 'em, and they were now scarce able to go on their Legs for want of Forrage.

These

These Troubles and Inconveniencies which incompass'd *Pompey*, made him resolve to break through, especially after he had been inform'd of the Condition of *Cæsar's* Fortifications by *Roscillus* and *Agm*, two Brothers of Considerable Note, who deserted *Cæsar*, and came over to him. To carry on this Design, he gave Orders to his light Harnas'd Men and Archers to defend themselves with Bavins and Faggots of Oliers; then drawing out 60 Cohorts, he put 'em on Board his Ships, and fell upon *Cæsar's* Works by the Sea, which had been too little regarded, and not well compleated. This was done with such Effect, that all the Centurions of the first Cohort were cut off except one; and tho' *Cæsar* and his Officers did their best to hinder *Pompey's* Designs, yet by means of his great Conduct and Fore-cast, he got out of his Fortifications, and incamp'd in another Place by the Sea, where he had both the Conveniency of all Forrage, and of his Shipping too. *Cæsar* perceiving the Loss he had sustain'd, and that the Course of the War had not succeeded according to his Expectation, resolv'd to change it, and sit down close by *Pompey*. In that Enterprize he design'd to cut off a Legion of the Enemy which was posted by a Wood; but this Action brought on a general Battel, where his Men were all entangled within the Intrenchments of the Old Camps lately Abandon'd; and likewise so surpriz'd and over-power'd by *Pompey's* Forces, that in spite of all *Cæsar's* Endeavours they fled with great Loss. The greatest Part perish'd in the Trenches, and on the River Banks, press'd to Death by their Fellows. *Pompey*, pursu'd his Victory to the very Camp of *Cæsar*, but durst not Attack it, being both surpriz'd with the Suddenness of the Victory, and the Fear of Ambuscades: and this was his great Error in this case; for *Cæsar* himself confess'd, *That he had been lost without Redress, cou'd Pompey have known how to make use of the Victory.*

This Advantage that *Pompey* gain'd, caus'd him to be saluted *Imperator*; *Labienus* begging the Prisoners, caus'd

caus'd 'em all to be Slain ; and *Pompey's* Party had such Assurance, that not thinking any more of further Fighting, they carry'd themselves as undoubted Conquerors, which they reported in all Places, not considering the many Circumstances that occasion'd this Success. But *Cæsar* being driven from his former Purposes, resolv'd to change the whole Course of the War ; and assembling his Men together, with a fearless Mind spake to 'em after this manner : *We have no Reason to be dejected or discourag'd at our late Insucces, but have much more to be thankfull to Fortune for the long and uninterrupted Course of her Favours, in those many and glorious Conquests in Gaul and Britain, and those happy and more successfull Ones in Italy and Spain. If after all these renown'd Exploits and noble Acts, one little Disorder, one Error of Inadvertency, or indeed of Destiny it self has depriv'd us of the Success we might reasonably have expected, we ought to correct all by the Greatness of our Souls, and the Magnanimity of our Courages.* After his Speech he Cashier'd some Ensigns, but he needed to make no other Examples, for his Soldiers offer'd to punish themselves by any Labour or Danger, crying, *To Arms, let us be reveng'd or die!* But *Cæsar* thought it not convenient to put 'em to the Trial, till their Minds were settled, therefore resolv'd to make a fair Retreat to *Apollonia* ; which he did with that Diligence, that *Pompey* cou'd not overtake him, only some of his Cavalry came up with *Cæsar's* Reer, but were repuls'd with Loss. *Cæsar* caus'd his Baggage to march before, and his Advantage of being eight Hours before *Pompey*, forc'd *Pompey* in four Days to give over his Pursuit, and betake himself to other Resolutions.

Cæsar was forc'd to go to *Apollonia* to dispose of his sick and wounded Men, and to muster his Army ; but fearing lest *Pompey* shou'd surprize *Domitius*, one of his Lieutenants now in *Macedonia*, with three Legions, he hastned what he cou'd to joyn him. *Pompey*, perceiving which Way he directed his March, was in as great a Fear for

for *Scipio*, now in *Thessaly* with the *Syrian* Legions, and immediately set forward. So each General march'd with all the Diligence imaginable, both to secure their Friends and surprize their Enemies. *Pompey* had the Advantage of the shortness of the Way, and *Domitius* very narrowly escap'd him, who coming to *Aginium* upon the Frontiers of *Thessaly*, there happily joyn'd *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* seeing all his Forces together, march'd directly to *Gomphi*, the first Town in the Way from *Epirus* to *Thessaly*. The Inhabitants, who before had promis'd *Cæsar* Obedience, now chang'd their Minds, as many others did, upon the Report of his being beaten, being perswaded to it by the *Prætors* of *Thessaly* then in the City; and after having sent to *Scipio* and *Pompey* for Succour, caus'd the Gates to be shut against *Cæsar*. *Scipio* was at *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, and *Pompey* was not come into this Province, which caus'd *Cæsar* to Attack *Gomphi*; he order'd Ladders, great Baskets fill'd with Earth, and Hurdles to be got ready with all Diligence; and after having represented to his Soldiers the great Advantages of forcing a Place so very rich and well-furnish'd, he caus'd an Assault to be made, which was carry'd on with such Fury and Bravery, that notwithstanding the extraordinary Height of the Walls the Town was taken in few Hours time. *Cæsar* left it to be-plunder'd, and, without stopping, march'd his Army to *Metropolis*, which yielded to him upon the sight of the Prisoners of *Gomphi*: This Conduct of his brought over all the Towns in *Thessaly* to his Subjection, except *Larissa*, which *Scipio* had possess'd himself of.

Pompey arriv'd at *Thessaly* within a few Days after the Taking of *Gomphi*, and advanc'd near *Pharsalia*, whither *Scipio* went and joyn'd him with his Troops. He was receiv'd by his Son-in-law *Pompey* with a great deal of Magnificence, making him Partaker both of his Honour and Authority, and ordering the Trumpets to sound every Morning at *Scipio's* Tent as well as his own. *Cæsar* was all the while giving Orders for the Subsistence of his

his Army; and with great Skill making Remarks upon the Inclinations of his Soldiers; and finding them hearty and vigorous, caus'd 'em to advance as far as the Plains of *Pharsalia* where *Pompey* was encamp'd. The Approach of these two noble Armies, in which were all the Chosen *Roman* Legions, whose Valour was to decide the Fate of that great Empire; the Hatred and Ambition of the Generals, animated by the Prize as well as the Glory of such a Conquest; together with the small Appearance of an Accommodation, made it out of Doubt that nothing but a general Battel cou'd determine this famous Quarrel. *Pompey* being the stronger of the two, his Party did not question the Victory in the least, and fell into great Controversies who shou'd be successively Consuls, who shou'd have *Cæsar's* Priesthood, and who shou'd have his Lands, Goods and Monies, and likewise how all Dignities and Magistracies shou'd be dispos'd of, with a great many of the like things: In short, every one set his Thoughts upon sharing the Fruits of the Victory, without considering how to gain it. But *Cæsar* was otherways employ'd, using all the Care and Skill in the World to encourage and perfect his Men: He every Day sent out Parties, and exercis'd the lusty young Men of his Legions to mingle themselves among the Cavalry, and contend even with the Horses for Swiftnefs; so tho' *Pompey* much surpass'd in the Number of Horse, yet *Cæsar's* being so well and skilfully assisted by these light-arm'd Foot, were not at all afraid of 'em, and in one Re-incounter they defeated a great Number of 'em.

Cæsar, now finding his Soldiers vigorous and desirous of Action, drew out of his Camp, and offer'd *Pompey* Battel. But that General had no such Design at present, either suspecting his Troops, or dreading the loss of his Reputation; and therefore endeavour'd to waste *Cæsar's* Army with fatigue and want of Provisions. He drew indeed sometimes out of his Camp, but always kept himself under his Trenches, at the Foot
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of the advanc'd Ground where he was posted. *Cæsar* cou'd not attack him in that Place without great Disadvantage, so that he resolv'd to decamp the next Day, that by frequent Motions he might weary out *Pompey's* Men, who were not so hardned to Toil as his. Upon the taking down of the Tents, Advice came that *Pompey's* Army was in Battalia, and far enough from his Trenches; whereupon *Cæsar* caus'd all his Troops to halt, and with extream Joy told 'em, *That now was the happy and long wish'd-for Moment, in which they might gain themselves Immortal Honour.* After which he drew up his Troops in order, and march'd 'em towards the Place of Battel. *Pompey* on the other side was troubled with melancholy Thoughts and presaging Dreams, but now was no longer able to hold out against the Importunities and Murmurings of his Officers, and therefore at present did what he cou'd to incourage 'em, particularly by telling 'em, *That the Strength of his Cavalry, who had promis'd him to Attack the Enemy's Flanks before they cou'd discharge one Dart, was alone sufficient to gain the Victory.* *Labienus* seconded his Speech, adding withall, *That this was not the Army that Cæsar perform'd such Exploits in Gaul and Germany with, which were all gone home, kill'd with Diseases, or destroy'd at the last Battel at Dyrrachium.* After which he took a solemn Oath not to return into his Camp but with Victory; which Oath *Pompey* himself took, and the rest after him, not imagining that any thing cou'd be spoken vainly by so skillfull a Commander.

Pompey's Army consisted of 45000 Foot, according to *Plutarch*, and 7000 Horse; *Cæsar's* but of 22000 Foot, and not much above 1000 Horse; but *Appian* with some Reason excepts the Auxiliaries, which he supposes to have been great on both Sides; tho' all agree that *Pompey's* Forces were double the number to *Cæsar's*. *Pompey* left seven Cohorts to Guard his Camp, and drew up all his Men in three Lines, every Legion making three Battalions, and each Battalion was drawn up in
half

half Cohorts, that is, 200 Men in Rank, and eight in File. The *Syrian* Legions were plac'd in the middle, under the Command of *Scipio*; the *Spaniards*, whom *Pompey* most rely'd upon, on the Right, under *Domitius Enobarbus*; and on the Left was *Pompey* himself with the two Legions *Caesar* had restor'd at the beginning of the War, under *Lentulus*. The rest were in the same Order between *Scipio's* Legions and the Wings; only the Auxiliary Troops, at least such as fought in Order, made the Body of Reserve; for the others, they were drawn out without Order upon the Left, with the *Archers*, *Slingers*, and all the Cavalry, the Right being fortify'd by a River. *Caesar* left two Cohorts to guard his Camp, and drew up in three Lines also, in the same Order with *Pompey*; the tenth Legion was upon the Right, and the ninth upon the Left, almost joyn'd to the eighth. The rest of the Cohorts being drawn up between these Legions, were on the Centre, where *Domitius Calvinus* commanded, *Sylla* having the right Wing, and *Anthony* the left. *Caesar* put himself at the Head of the tenth Legion, whose Valour he had often experienc'd, and with design to be opposite to *Pompey*, who intended to fall upon the Flanks of *Caesar's* Troops, but he soon perceiv'd it by the Order of his Battel, and thereupon he drew six Cohorts out of all his Troops, of which he compos'd a Body of Reserve. He exactly instructed them in their Duty; and above all, gave them to understand, *That all the Hopes of Victory depended upon their Valour and Conduct*. Lastly, he plac'd his Cavalry so as to cover the Right of the tenth Legion, Ordering over and above his third Line not to march, till they receiv'd a Signal from him.

Now it was that the Fate of the vast Empire of *Rome* was to be decided by the greatest Generals, the bravest Officers, and the stoutest Soldiers in the World, each Man almost being inspir'd with the Desire of conquering Gloriously or dying Honourably. As the Armies approach'd, the two Generals went from Rank to Rank
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encouraging their Soldiers: *Pompey* represented to his Men, *The Justice and Merit of his Cause; the Advantage of their Numbers, strengthen'd by the Assistance of so many Illustrious Senators; and the Glory obtain'd at the Battel of Dyrrachium.* *Cæsar* was contented only to demonstrate, *That he had endeavour'd by all possible Means to obtain an honourable Peace; and if his Enemies had pleas'd, they might have spar'd the Blood of so many brave Men!* So seeing the Impatience of his Soldiers to fall on, he gave the Signal of Battel; the Word on *Pompey's* side was, *Hercules the Invincible*; that on *Cæsar's*, *Venus the Victorious.* There was now only so much Space between the two Armies as was just sufficient for the Place of Battel; but *Pompey* order'd his Men to receive the first Shock without moving from their Places. *Cæsar's* Soldiers seeing that, like Men of Skill, of their own accord made a Halt in the midst of their Carrier; and after taking a little Breath, ran furiously upon the Enemy, first discharging their Javelins, then drawing their Swords, as *Cæsar* had given 'em Orders. *Pompey's* Men receiv'd the Charge without the least Disorder, and falling on with their Javelins and Swords, a cruel and bloody Battel ensu'd, which for a while seem'd equal. Then *Pompey* order'd his Cavalry to charge, which with the multitude of Archers and Slingers, soon made *Cæsar's* Men give ground, and got themselves upon the Flank of his Army, as they first design'd. Whereupon *Cæsar* immediately order'd the six Cohorts to advance, which were his Body of Reserve, to charge upon the Faces of the Enemy with their Pikes ported, which put 'em into such Confusion, that upon the Rallying of *Cæsar's* Cavalry, they were all broke in a moment, and the Slingers and Archers being thus abandon'd, were all cut to Pieces, *Cæsar's* industriously following that Advantage, advanc'd and charg'd *Pompey's* Troops upon the Flank, which Charge they stood with a great deal of Resolution, and the Allies bravely defended themselves, when *Cæsar* gave

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the Signal for his third Line to advance, which fresh Troops pouring in upon Pompey's, weary'd-out, and attack'd on all sides, easily broke 'em. The Flight began among the Strangers, tho' Pompey's right Wing still valiantly kept their Ground; but *Cæsar* causing his Men to cry out, *Kill the Strangers, but save the Romans*, the Romans laid down their Arms and receiv'd Quarter, but a miserable Slaughter was made among the Strangers, who fled as fast as they cou'd.

Cæsar, now finding the Victory sure, and Pompey retreated to his Trenches, cry'd out to his Men, *That they ought to pursue the Victory, and take the Enemies Camp*. It was now Noon-day, and tho' they were wearied out with the extremity of the Heat, yet upon seeing their General march a-foot at the Head of 'em, they follow'd him with great Resolution, and falling on with fresh Courage, the Enemy all fled to the Mountains hard by. Pompey himself was so dishearten'd and confounded, that here he cou'd do nothing worthy of his Courage or Reputation, but getting on Horse-back, he fled to *Larissa*, and from thence to the Sea. *Cæsar* found throughout the Camp much rich Furniture in the Tents, Tables spread with fine Linen, and Cubbords cover'd with Plate, which sufficiently shew the Luxury and Assurance of the Enemy. *Cæsar* earnestly desir'd his Soldiers, *Not to amuse themselves with Plunder, but to compleat this glorious Victory*; and by means of the great Respect they bore him, he prevail'd. So a Trench was presently thrown up about the Mountain where the Enemy was retreated, who, wanting Water, were forc'd to quit it, and retire to *Larissa*. *Cæsar* immediately follow'd 'em with four Legions, and after six Miles march, drew up in Battalia, which caus'd the Enemy to betake themselves to a high Hill, at the Foot of which ran a River. Now, Night approaching, *Cæsar*'s Men were almost spent, and ready to faint with the continual Toil of the whole Day; yet still by his obliging Persuasions he prevail'd with 'em to cut
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off the Conveniency of Water from the Enemy by a Trench. This immediately forc'd 'em to a Capitulation, and some Senators made their Escape in the Dark. The next Morning *Caesar* order'd all the Enemy to come down into the Plain and lay down their Arms, which they obey'd, and falling upon their Knees before him, in the most suppliant Posture, begg'd for Mercy, which he granted 'em with all the Clemency and Kindness imaginable, and commanded his Soldiers not to offer 'em the least Incivility, nor plunder their Baggage. Thus *Caesar*, by his wonderfull Skill and Courage, and by the indefatigable Industry of his Soldiers, obtain'd the most compleat, tho' not the most bloody, Victory that ever General in the World did, 15000 of the Enemy being slain in Battel, and 24000 surrender'd, he himself losing very few.

In the mean time, the great *Pompey*, who just before had been the Commander of Kings, and all the Greatness of *Rome*, now found himself reduc'd to seek Retreat with some few of his Friends in a poor Fisherman's Cabbin: From whence he went aboard another Vessel, and made forward every Day as much as he cou'd, but the ungratefull sound of his Defeat flew before him, so that he cou'd not be admitted into any City of *Greece*. Whereupon he directed his Course, after some different Purpose, to *Egypt*, where King *Ptolemy*, a Minor, was in War with his Sister *Cleopatra*, whose Father *Pompey* had settled in his Kingdom. *Pompey* sent to him, *That in regard of the ancient Hospitality and Amity between him and his Father, he desir'd a Retreat of him in Alexandria, and that by his Wealth and Power he wou'd support him, now fallen into the utmost Misery and Calamity.* The Message was well enough receiv'd, but such as were Protectors of the King, and Guardians of the Kingdom now in his Minority, either induced by the Fear of the Armies being gain'd by *Pompey*, many of 'em having been his Soldiers, or else despising the Lowness of his Fortune,

gave a good Answer openly to the Messengers, and desir'd him to come to the King: But secretly plotting among themselves, sent *Achillas*, a principal Commander and of great Boldness, together with *Septimius* a Roman Tribune, to kill him. They met him with much Civility, and *Pompey* knowing *Septimius* to have led a Company under him in his War against the Pirates, went aboard a little Bark with a few of his Soldiers, and there was barbarously and treacherously murther'd by *Achillas* and *Septimius*.

Such was the End of *Pompey the Great*, who, after his escaping so many memorable Dangers where he might have fallen with the Honour agreeable to his great Character, came at last to lose his Life miserably by the Hands of three or four Villains, which was nigh two years after his open falling out with *Cesar*. This cut off the second Head of the *Triumvirate*, and made way for *Cesar's* Absolute Power soon after; and this happen'd in the 706th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3957, about 12 Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 46 before our Saviour's Nativity.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

From the Death of Pompey, to the Death of Cæsar; which finish'd the first Triumvirate, but still kept down the Consular State.

Containing the Space of nigh four Tears.

I. **T**HUS Successfull was *Cæsar* in all his Actions, especially in the last, which Advantage he resolv'd to pursue to the utmost; and knowing that all his Enemies Hopes were lodg'd in the Person of *Pompey*, he follow'd him with his usual Diligence, and arriv'd at *Alexandria* with two Legions and 800 Horse, in ten Gallies of *Rhodes*, and a few Ships of *Asia*, ordering the rest of his Men to follow. Tho' these Forces were very inconsiderable, the Legions being reduc'd to 3200 Men, yet the Confidence he had in his Victories, and the high Reputation they had gotten him, made him believe that he shou'd meet with Obedience where-ever he cou'd find Men. Upon his landing at *Alexandria*, he was entertain'd with the News of the Death of *Pompey*, whose Head was presented to him, and his Ring which he us'd for his Signet. This mournfull Spectacle immediately reviv'd the Thoughts of his former Friendship, which with the said Imagination of the Misfortunes that attend the greatest Men, drew Tears from his Eyes, and made him turn away his Face with Horrour, keeping the Ring, and sending away the Messenger in a Moment. *Cæsar* having

U. C.
706.

his Axes and Fasces carry'd before him in *Alexandria*, the Multitude were much offended, as they were at his Landing, crying out, *That the King's Authority was diminish'd*; which occasion'd *Cæsar* to give Orders for other Legions, which were inroll'd for *Pompey's* Service, to be brought to him out of *Asia*. *Cæsar* now conceiv'd that the Controversie between the King and his Sister belong'd to the Cognisance of the People of *Rome*, and consequently to himself as Consul, and the rather, because old *Ptolemy* by his Will had left his eldest Son and Daughter Heirs, and the People of *Rome* Executors. Upon this Account he intended to make up all Differences between 'em, and sent to 'em to have 'em rather to plead their Causes before him than to decide the Controversie by the Sword.

At this time *Photinus* the Eunuch had the Administration of the Kingdom, and he disdain'd to come to *Cæsar's* Proposals, but thereupon procur'd *Achillas* to march directly to *Alexandria* at the Head of 22000 stout Men, many of 'em being *Romans*. This forc'd *Cæsar* to take great Care to secure himself in the Town, not being strong enough to stand 'em in the Field, and to cause his own Quarters to be strongly fortify'd, where, nevertheless, he was shortly after attack'd by *Achillas*. *Cæsar's* Soldiers bravely repuls'd the Enemy, whose chief Design was to get Possession of the 50 Ships and 12 Galleys which were in the Haven, which oblig'd *Cæsar*, after a long and doubtfull Fight, to possess himself of the *Pharos*, a Tower of wonderfull Structure in an Islet just by, and to set Fire to those Vessels; the Flames whereof being driven by the Wind upon some Houses nigh the Port, burnt 'em down, and among 'em unhappily consum'd one of the best Libraries in the World. The Port made *Cæsar* Master by Sea, tho' he was close shut up by Land, and the People of the Town were generally against him. In the mean time the young Princess *Cleopatra* came to *Cæsar* with much Danger and Difficulty; she embark'd
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in a Shallop with only *Apollodorus*, one of her Dome-
sticks, with whom she arriv'd that Night under the Ca-
stle of *Alexandria*, and there *Apollodorus* binding her up
in a Packet of those Necessaries which he brought along
with him, took her upon his Back, and by that means
deceiving the *Egyptian* Guards, carry'd her to *Cesar*.
Cesar was too sensible of the Charms of Beauty, not to
be touch'd with those of *Cleopatra*, who was now in
the Prime of her Youth, and one of those sprightly
Beauties whereof every Feature had its particular Grace:
All which, join'd with an admirable Wit, and a Voice
so soft and bewitching, that even that Perfection alone,
without the help of her Eyes, which were the finest in
the World, enslav'd the Hearts of all who heard her;
nor cou'd *Cesar* refuse her his, but at first sight shew'd
himself of her Interest. *Ptolemy* her Brother quickly
found it, and *Cesar*'s Uneasiness in his Love made the
Inhabitants more Turbulent; but he soon quell'd all,
and as Consul and Tutor to the young Princess, in a
general Assembly he read the Will of *Ptolemy* their Fa-
ther, and promis'd to put it in Execution.

In the mean time *Ganymedes* the Eunuch, by the
Help of *Arfinoe*, the King's younger Brother, had
caus'd *Achillas* to be slain, and procur'd himself to be
made General of the Army, who assuming the said Au-
thority, continu'd the Siege with much Vigour, reduc'd
Cesar to great Extremities by spoiling all his fresh Wa-
ter, which he soon remedy'd by his extraordinary Dili-
gence, and digging abundance of Wells. *Cesar* began
now to expect his Succours with Impatience, and be-
ing inform'd that the 37th Legion was arriv'd on the
Confines of *Africk*, but cou'd not come up by reason
of the Winds, he embark'd with his whole Fleet, but
with only his Mariners, and set forward to meet it.
The Enemy knowing that he was without Soldiers, at-
tack'd him; but he soon worsted 'em, join'd his Legi-
on, and return'd to *Alexandria*. This first Fight asto-
nish'd the *Alexandrians*, nevertheless they resisted, and

came against *Cæsar* with a stronger Fleet than before, but were again routed, and forc'd to flee under the Peer of *Pharos*. *Cæsar* was only Master of the Tower, and making an Attack upon the Peer with some little Success, was nevertheless at last repuls'd with so much Disorder, that not being able to hinder his Soldiers from throwing themselves on Board his Ship, he sav'd himself by swimming, but with so much Presence of Mind, that he lost none of his Papers, which he held out of the Water with one Hand to preserve 'em from wetting, nor yet his Coat Armour, which he carried in his Teeth.

The *Alexandrians*, finding they were not able by Force to drive out *Cæsar*, had recourse to their old Arts of Dissimulation, demanding their King from him: *Cæsar* was sensible of their perfidious Temper, but finding the War might be more honourable, and not much more dangerous, presently deliver'd him, who, as he expected, employ'd all his Forces against him. But at this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamum*, a Man of noble Birth, of brave Spirit, and great Fidelity to *Cæsar*, came in with an Army to *Cæsar's* Assistance. He first took *Pelusium* by the Way, and went to pass the River *Nile* at a Place call'd *Delta*. Which *Ptolemy* being inform'd of, went in Person to oppose him, and *Cæsar* did the same to assist *Mithridates*, who before the Arrival of either, had already beaten *Ptolemy's* Men in one Occasion. *Cæsar* also defeated others before he could join *Mithridates*; after which he attack'd a small Fort between his Camp and that of *Ptolemy*, which he took, and the next Day attack'd their very Camp, which he forc'd, and the King endeavouring to save himself by Water, was drown'd. After this Victory, *Cæsar* met with no Opposition in all *Egypt*, and the City of *Alexandria* was the first that submitted; so he made his Entry as Conquerour, and pardon'd the Citizens in favour of *Cleopatra*, whom he establish'd Queen with her younger Brother *Ptolemy*, according to the Intent of their

their Fathers's Will, driving out *Arfinoe* and *Garny-medes*. The rest of the Days he staid in *Egypt*, he dedicated to the Love he had for this beautifull Princess, and the Rejoycings for his Victory. He spent much of his time in her Commpany, and some Authors report that he went up the *Nile* with her in a magnificent Galley, and that he had gone as far as *Ethiopia*, if his Army had not refus'd to follow him; but however, he gave such publick as well as private Testimonies of his Affection, that he left her with Child of a Son, who was afterwards call'd *Cesario*.

II. About the beginning of the *Alexandrian War*, *Cesar* had great Honours voted him by the *Senate* at *Rome*, who were now most got together: He was made *Consul* for five years together; *Dictator* for a whole year, and had the Power of *Tribune* for his Life; and tho' he was out of *Italy*, he took the *Dictatorship*, and made *Marc Anthony* his *Master* of the *Horse*, who as yet had not been *Prater*. *Anthony* at his six Month's end, was forc'd to lay down his Office, and was made *Consul*, the *Augurs* crying it was unlawfull for any *Master of the Horse* to hold that Office above six Month's. But the principal Cause was his exercising too great an Authority in that Place; which with the outrageous Carriage of *Trebellius* and *Dolabella*, both *Tribunes*, rais'd great Commotions and Disturbances in the City. *Cesar's* Presence was now much wanted, and he might have been far sooner at *Rome*, if *Cleopatra* had not held him fast in *Egypt*, which Hold she was at last forc'd to let go after nine Months, and give way to a greater Violence, which hurry'd him out of her Embraces. This proceeded from *Pharnaces*, the Son of the great *Mithridates*, who had formerly been left King of *Bosphorus*, and being ambitious of Recovering of his Father's Dominions, he seiz'd *Colchis* with little trouble, and all *Arminia* in the Absence of *Deiotarus* the Tetrarch of that Kingdom, besides some other Places. *Cesar* being then

Dic. lxxiii
Annal.
U. C.
 707.

then employ'd in *Egypt*, and hoping to reduce him by others, had sent *Domitius Calvinus* against him, with orders to receive all the Forces that were in *Asia*. *Domitius* joyn'd with *Deiotarus* and *Ariobarzanes*, march'd strait against *Pharnaces*, then at *Nicopolis*, which place he had lately taken. *Pharnaces* affrighted at his Enemy, desir'd a Truce, which *Domitius* contemn'd, and resolving to fight, was considerably worsted in the Engagement.

Pharnaces, elevated with this Success, took in the rest of the Cities of *Pontus*, and march'd into *Bithynia*, hoping to meet with his Father's Fortune, but was stop'd in his Carreer by the Revolt of *Asander*, whom he had left in his Kingdom in Chief. He design'd to go against him, but was diverted by the News of *Cæsar's* coming, who upon these occasions thought it not honourable to make any longer Stay in *Egypt*. *Pharnaces* was much more terrified at the Name of *Cæsar* than his Army, and as he drew near, sent often to him about a Peace, labouring by all Ways to evade the present Danger, not doubting, but early to renew the War after his Departure. *Cæsar*, sufficiently apprehensive of his Designs, gave good Words to the Messengers, the first and second time, but at the third time, he objected, among other Crimes, *His Ingratitude to Pompey his Benefactor*: And thereupon using all Expedition, on one and the same Day he went and fought the Enemy, who at first distressed him with their Horses and Chariots that bore Scythes, but the Veteran Troops obtain'd the Victory in a little time; and *Pharnaces* himself flying, and endeavouring to break into *Bosphorus*, was repuls'd and slain by *Asander*. This Victory being so sudden and effectual, made *Cæsar* say, *That Pompey was very happy in gaining so much Glory against this Enemy at so easie a Rate*. And in writing to *Anicius* at Rome, he express'd the Celerity of this Expedition in three Words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: *I came, I view'd, I vanquish'd*. *Cæsar* settling Affairs in these parts as well as he could, withall bestowing the Government of *Armenia* upon *Ariobarzanes*, that
of

of *Judaea* upon *Hircanus* and *Antipater*, and that of *Bosphorus* upon *Mithridates*, embark'd and went into *Italy* with a Diligence which put all the World into Admiration.

III. Upon *Caesar's* Arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero* and a great many others of *Pompey's* Party went to meet him, and were receiv'd by him, as if they had always been of his Interest. This obliging Behaviour got him the Favour of the People of *Rome*, so that he easily appeas'd the Dissentions there, and the time of his Dictatorship being out, he was chosen Consul with *Emilius Lepidus*. He could not find time to stay in *Rome*, for the Remains of *Pompey's* Party had rally'd themselves in *Africk* under *Scipio* and *Cato*, and King *Juba*, which made him hasten thither, after he had appeas'd some Mutinies of his own Soldiers. He landed in *Africk* with a small Party, but the rest soon after follow'd; he was in some Distress for want of Necessaries for a little time, but that he conquer'd with great Constancy. After many Movements, and several Skirmishes between both Parties, *Caesar* resolv'd to come to a decisive Battel if it were possible. In order to this Design he invested the City *Tapsa*, supposing that *Scipio* would attempt to relieve it, in which he was not mistaken; for *Scipio* joining with King *Juba*, encamp'd near *Caesar*: they soon came to a general Battel, in which *Caesar* gave a final Defeat to all the Enemy's Forces, and became Master of all their Bag and Baggage. *Tapsa*, *Adrumetum* and *Zama* immediately surrender'd, *Cato* fled to *Utica*, and *Juba* and *Petreus* kill'd one another in Despair, and all *Juba's* Kingdom submitted, *Sitius*, one of *Caesar's* Lieutenants, soon after encounter'd *Afranius* and *Sylla*, as they were going for *Spain*, defeated their Forces and took 'em Prisoners, after which they were both kill'd in a Mutiny. *Scipio* himself and several Senator's being embark'd for *Spain*, were driven upon *Sitius's* Fleet, where they all were slain by their Enemies, or by themselves.

U. C.

708.

Of

Of the Generals of *Pompey's* Party, *Cato* was only remaining, who had retreated to *Utica*, where he had establish'd a kind of a Senate, compos'd of 300 *Romans*. He was at first resolv'd to hold out the Town, but finding the Minds of the Inhabitants much divided, he quitted that Design for another more agreeable to his Character and Philosophical Opinions. He desir'd his Friends, some to save themselves by Sea, and others to rely upon *Cæsar's* Goodness, and embracing them with a more than ordinary Tenderneſs that Night, which redoubled some former Suspicions of theirs. His Son at Supper took his Sword from him, which he mis'd not when he aroſe, but lying down in his Bed read *Plato's* Dialogue call'd *Phædo*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul. Then miſſing his Sword, he was very angry and diſſatisfied till it was brought him; then feeling the Point, he laid it by him, ſaying, *I am Maſter of my ſelf*. He then took his Book again, which he had read twice over and fell into a ſound Sleep; but juſt as Day began to appear, he took his Sword and thruſt himſelf through the Breſt, which not deſpatching him, he ſtaggering fell upon his Bed, and at the ſame time threw down a Table upon which he had drawn ſome Figures of Geometry. At the noiſe of this, his Slaves came in, and with their Cries alſo brought his Sons and Friends, who found him weltring in his Blood, and his Bowels out of his Body: His Eyes were yet open, which caus'd his Phyſician to eaſe him upon his Bed; then putting up his Bowels, which were yet unhurt, he clos'd up the Wound. Upon this, *Cato* recover'd his Spirits, and being transported with Fury, thruſt back the Phyſician, rent open his Wound again, and tearing his Bowels, expir'd before their Eyes. Thus dy'd *Cato*, a Perſon of ſingular Juſtice, Severity and Magnanimity; upon the hearing of whoſe Death, *Cæſar* ſaid, *Cato has envy'd me the Glory of ſaving his Life, and therefore do I envy his Death*; and this Death compleatly finiſh'd *Cæſar's* War in *Africa*.

Africa

Africk being entirely brought into Subjection, *Cesar* return'd to *Rome* to triumph for all his Victories; and first to obtain the Favour of the People, he gave 'em to understand, *That his last Victory had gain'd the Commonwealth of Rome a Country so large and rich, that it cou'd yearly furnish the City with 200000 Bushels of Corn, and 3000000 Pounds of Oil.* After this, he order'd the Preparation for his Triumph upon four successive days; the first design'd for the Triumph over *Gaul*, shew'd in a great many Tables the Names of 300 Nations and 800 Cities, conquer'd by the Death of a Million of Foes, whom he had defeated in several Battels. The second Triumph was over *Egypt*. The third shew'd the Defeat of *Pharnaces* in *Asia*. And the fourth, that of King *Juba* in *Africk*. Here was the utmost Shew of Magnificence, and all the *Roman* Soldiers follow'd their great General crown'd with Laurels, and in that Equipage he went to the *Capitol*, the Steps whereof he mounted upon his Knees, forty Elephants being rang'd on each Side, carrying great Candlesticks, fill'd with Flambeaus. The Silver Vessels, and Statues of Goldsmith's Work, which were us'd in these Triumphs, amounted to 65000 Talents, which is above twelve Millions of our Money, besides 1822 Crowns of Gold, weighing 15033 l. which were Presents that the Princes and Cities had made him after his Victories, according to the Customs of those times. Out of these Summs he paid his Soldiers, besides what he had promis'd them in the beginning of the Civil Wars. To every one 150 Pounds of our Money, as much more to the Centurions, and twice as much as that to the Tribunes and Commanders of the Cavalry; and for their Retreat after the Wars, he gave them Inheritances in several Places separated from *Italy*. The People also were sensible of his Bounty, for he distributed to each particular Person ten Bushels of Corn and ten Pounds of Oil, and added 100 *Denarii* to the 300 he had promis'd 'em before. After this he nobly entertain'd the whole People at 22000 several Tables,

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and that nothing might be wanting to the Pomp and Magnificence of these Feasts, he caus'd 2000 Gladiators to fight before the People, and made Representations of Sea and Land-Fights of four or five Thousand Men of a side, besides all sorts of Plays and Shews. These Entertainments drew so many People to Rome, that the greatest part of 'em were forc'd to lie in the open Air, and a great many were stifled in the Press, among the rest, two Senators.

Many great Honours were conferr'd upon *Caesar*, among which, was that of *Master of Manners*; as if the Name of *Censor* was too mean, for three Years; all joining to shew their great Forwardness in preferring him, some out of Love and Respect, others out of Fear and Flattery: and indeed many began to dread the Severities of *Marius* and *Sylla*; but *Caesar's* extraordinary Civility to both Parties, and the Greatness of his Nature, in a great Measure freed 'em from any such Fears. He began now to settle the Common-wealth, and make many new Laws: He committed the Power of Judicature to the *Senators* and *Equites* alone; and both by Laws and his own Care he restrain'd the profuse way of Living of rich Persons. And because the City was manifestly exhausted, by reason of Multitudes quitting it, he propos'd Rewards to all such as had many Children. Then considering that by his long Command in *Gaul* he himself had Opportunity of establishing an extraordinary Power, by a Law he ordain'd, That no *Prætor* shou'd Command above a Year in his Province, nor a *Consul* above two Years after the Expiring of his Office. Moreover, to shew that nothing shou'd escape his Care, he undertook to regulate the *Roman Year*, which was at this time very much confounded; and tho' *Numa*, the second King of *Rome*, had bestow'd much Pains about it, yet still the Reckoning according to Lunar Months, and the odd eleven Days and a quarter, caus'd a great many Inconveniencies. Whereupon *Caesar*, after his consulting the most able Astronomers, being also him-
self

self very well instructed in that Science, whereof he had written, regulated the Year according to the Course of the Sun, allotting to each Year 365 Days, and adding one Day more every fourth Year, which was call'd the *Bissexile*; and this is the Method which we to this Day follow, and goes still by the name of the *Julian Account* and the *Old Stile*, whereas the *New Stile* is call'd the *Gregorian Account*. In this same Year flourish'd *Catullus* the Poet, one of the principal *Epigrammatists* of all the *Romans*.

IV. While *Cæsar* was thus employ'd in the Affairs of the Common-wealth, the two Sons of *Pompey* had fortify'd themselves in *Spain*; and as the People still passionately affected the Memory of their Father, they soon got together a powerfull Army; they also had very good Officers, and among the rest *Labiennus*, which oblig'd *Cæsar* to go in Person to oppose their Proceedings; tho' not without some Unwillingness, by reason that his beloved Mistress *Cleopatra* was now at *Rome*. He was now just made *Consul* again, and likewise *Dictator* for another Year; and *Lepidus*, who was *Consul* with him, he chose for his *Master of the Horse*. *Cæsar* proceeded in his Expedition with his wonted Vigour and Celerity, and arriv'd in *Spain* before the Enemy so much as imagin'd it. *Cneius*, the eldest of the two *Pompeys*, had laid Siege to the City of *Ulla*, and *Sextus* the younger Brother was in *Corduba* with a strong Garrison. *Cæsar*, to raise the Siege, and to give some Jealousie to *Cneius*, advanc'd towards *Corduba*, which occasion'd him to raise the Siege before *Ulla*, and come and oppose *Cæsar*; but *Cæsar* finding he cou'd not draw him to a Battle, went and invest'd *Atregna*, a Place of great Importance, and full of Provisions. This Siege lasted some time, and the *Pompeys* endeavour'd to throw in Succours into the Town, but in vain, till at last it was forc'd to capitulate. *Cæsar* being Master of this, several other Places submitted to him; and the *Pompeys* marching up

Di. lxxiv.
Annual.
U.C.
709.

up and down, and fearing the rest shou'd revolt, were resolv'd to come to a general Battel, their Army being now encamp'd in the Plains of *Munda*, and *Cæsar's* not far off.

Both Generals were equally impatient to come to an Ingagement, so that *Cneius* drew up his Men by Break of Day, well posting himself upon a Hill, and the Exactness of their Order shew'd his Troops to great Advantage, especially his Cavalry, who were very well armed. *Cæsar* with great Art drew up his Troops likewise, and after he had advanc'd a little Way from his Trenches, made a Halt, expecting the Enemy to come down from the Hill. This Delay made *Cæsar's* Soldiers begin to murmur, and so encourag'd those of *Cneius*, that they advanc'd upon the declining Part of the Hill, so both sides gave a Shout, and the Battel began. This was extraordinary Sharp and Dreadfull on both sides, those on *Cæsar's* side were extreemly incited by the Hopes of putting an End to all their Labours by this Battel, and those on *Pompey's* side fought out of Necessity and Desperation, most of 'em expecting no Pardon, as having their Lives formerly given 'em, when they had been overthrown with *Asfraninus* and *Petreibus*. The first Shock was manag'd on both sides with so much Courage, that *Cæsar's* Men, who had been almost always us'd to Conquer, found here a Stop put to their Fierceness, the Battel continu'd for many Hours very obstinate, and *Cæsar* was never in so great Danger as now; he threw himself several times with great Rage and Fury amongst the midst of the Enemy, crying out to his Men, and asking 'em, *If they were not asham'd to deliver him into the Hands of Boys?* So well did he encourage them by his Speeches, but much more by a thousand Actions of Bravery which he perform'd himself; that at last with much Difficulty and a long Time, he overthrew the Enemy, and kill'd 30000 upon the Spot. This Battel was so fierce and dangerous, that *Cæsar* often said, *That all other*
Places

where Places he fought for his Glory, but at Munda for his Life.

All his Ensigns were taken, and *Varus* and *Labiennus* slain in the Battel. *Cneius*, with 150 Horse escap'd to *Carteia*, from whence, thinking to save himself by Sea, he was forc'd by *Didius*, *Caesar's* Lieutenant, to return to Land, and being besieg'd within a Tower, and attack'd so vigorously, that he was forsaken by his People; and slain in a Cave where he had hid himself. But his Brother *Sextus* escaping from *Corduba*, so well conceal'd himself, that *Caesar* cou'd not find him. All *Spain* immediately submitted to *Caesar*, and he exacted great Contributions from all the Enemies Cities, under Pretence of punishing their Rebellion. After which he returned to *Rome* with great Joy and Satisfaction, and had a Triumph; but this Triumph was by no means attended with any joyfull Acclamations of the People, who were much concern'd to see the Memory of their belov'd *Pompey* insulted over, and the Race almost extirpated of one of the greatest Men in *Rome*. But *Caesar* did it the rather upon the Account of bringing the *Roman* Dominions into Peace and Subjection, and the perfect Finishing the Civil War, which, tho' it continu'd not much above four Years, had been so destructive to the *Roman* People, that at a *Census* just before *Caesar's* last Expedition, there were found but 150000 Heads of Families in *Rome*, whereas in that *Lustrum* before, there were 320000.

V. The Senate again began to conferr new Honours upon *Caesar*, and those greater than ever: They made him *Dictator in perpetuum*, *Consul* for ten Years, subjected all Magistrates, even *Plebeian*, to his Power; and ordain'd that he alone shou'd command the Armies, and raise Money, which made him Sovereign Prince or King in effect. Among other Titles he had that of *Deliverer* given him, and so was enter'd in the *Fasti*, and a Temple erected to *Liberty*; but above all, that of *Imperator*;

Dict. lxxv.
Perpetual
U. C.
709.

perator, not in that sense as Generals us'd to have it given 'em by their Souldiers after some worthy Exploit, but as it signify'd the greatest Authority in the Commonwealth. From this *Julius*, was deriv'd the Name of *Imperator* or *Emperour*, as likewise that of *Cæsar* to his Successours; and this was the first Beginning of the *Imperial* State of *Rome*, tho' it was not settled till some Years after. *Cæsar* was likewise made *Censor* for his life time, so that now most of the Magistracies seem'd to center in him. As for the Consulship, he divested himself of that for a while, and created *Fabius* and *Trebonius* Consuls for the rest of the Year, of whom it happen'd that *Fabius* dy'd the last Day of his Magistracy, and *Cæsar* substituted *Caninius* for the remaining Hours; whereupon *Cicero* jestingly writ in one of his Epistles, *That during the Consulship of Caninius not a Man din'd; yet no Harm was committed in that Time, for he was wonderfully vigilant, and ne'er slept throughout his whole Consulship.* From this time forward the Consulship grew cheaper, and few held it a whole Year, especially, when all its Authority and ancient Dignity, was, in a manner, swallow'd up by the *Imperial* Power soon after.

Thus *Cæsar* had order'd the Consulship, but for other Magistrates he pretended he wou'd not meddle with 'em, but leave 'em to the People to be nam'd according to the ancient Custom; but it prov'd only a Pretence, for he made them himself, and sent 'em into the Provinces without the ancient Way of *Sortition*. In other Magistrates the same Number was observ'd; only the *Prætors* upon the account of the Largeness of the
 16 *Prætors*. *Roman* Dominions were encreas'd to sixteen, and the
 40 *Quæstors*. *Quæstors* to forty. Besides he had no other Way to gratify those whom he had promis'd great Matters to, and this caus'd him to admit many into the Senate without Distinction, whether the Man was a *Soldier* or a *Libertine* by Original; so that the Number of the Senate, by this means, arose to nine hundred. Many he
 900 *Sens-*
 900 *sors*. also

also brought into the Ranks of *Patritians*, *Consulares*, and of those who had born other Offices; which became a Custom to those who were afterwards *Emperours*. To his Friends he gave much away both in Money and Lands, which was pleasing to them that made their Ends; but others took it very ill, and testify'd their Resentments, either by Words or Libels: The Management of publick Money was now translated from the *Questors* to the *Ediles*, and afterwards return'd no more to 'em, but at length was committed to Persons of *Prætorian Dignity*. Six *Ediles* were also made, of which two were *Patritians*, call'd *Cereales*, and four *Plebeians*.

For the following Year *Cæsar* enter'd upon the Consulship again with *Anthony*, who was likewise his *Master of the Horse*; and now he more closely apply'd himself to the Business of the Common-wealth than ever. He first took care to Pardon all such as had been in Arms against him, and greatly tax'd the Cruelty of *Sylla*, and thereby obtain'd as great a Name for Clemency as before he had for Valour. Then, to shew his generous Temper, he caus'd *Pompey's* Statues to be set up again, to shew that he esteem'd a great Soul in his greatest Enemy; which occasion'd *Cicero* to observe in his Writing, *That Cæsar by restoring Pompey's Statues secur'd his own*. In this second *Julian* Year, his Colleague *Anthony* procur'd by a Law, that the Month *Quintilis* should, in honour of his Name, be afterwards call'd *July*; and many other Laws were made. In the mean time, as he was no ways belov'd by those who were greatest in the Senate, tho' his Ordinances had no other Design than the publick Good, they forbore not to vilify him by their Raileries. Now, tho' *Cæsar* had Information of their several Discourses, he bore it all with so great a Moderation, that when some other People had yet the Insolence to violate his Reputation by Libels, he never so much as inquir'd after them. All his Designs shew'd the greatness of his Soul; he made

U. C.
710.

a Proposition for adorning of the City of *Rome* with a magnificent Temple consecrated to *Mars*, and with a Theatre, and likewise the building of a new *Curia* or *Parish* to be call'd *Julia*. He undertook to drein the *Pontine Marshes* near *Rome*, and to empty the *Lakes*; and likewise design'd to dig through the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus* by *Corinth*. After these, he was for falling upon the *Parthians*, to revenge the Death of *Craſſus*, and they being conquer'd, to enter through *Hircania*, along the Banks of the *Caspian Sea* into *Scythia*, to open himself a Way through *Germany* into *Gaul*, and so return to *Rome*: But all these vast Designs soon came to an End.

Cæſar's good Fortune, which had appear'd by so many Victories, his Merit and great Abilities, supported by the Affection of the People, and the Love of his Soldiers, had now rais'd him to a Degree above all other *Romans*. But as it usually happens in Commonwealths, where every one valuing himself upon his own Merit, looks upon Absolute Command as a Right which he one Day in his Turn may pretend to; so it was now, for that his extraordinary Advancement daily brought upon him the Jealousie of the Senators. In the mean time, in an extravagant Manner they continually flatter'd his Vanity with new Honours, preferring him in his Life time in some sort among the Gods, and declaring his Person Sacred and Inviolable. They gave him the Title of *Father of his Country*, stamp'd Money with his Image, order'd publick Sacrifices on his Birth-day, and his Statue to be set up in all Cities, and in all the Temples at *Rome*. His accepting of all that was offer'd him, caus'd him more Hatred from many, which was discover'd more plainly one Day when the Senate had decreed him some new Honours, and came all in a Body to the Temple of *Venus*, where he was, to acquaint him with their Decree; and he, whether out of a Mistake or Design, rose not up, but receiv'd 'em sitting, which Neglect much offended the

the Senators, and caus'd 'em to talk very freely and publicly about it, particularly saying, *That he plainly affected the Title of King*: He had indeed the Power in effect, but only wanted the Name, which was odious to the *Romans*. *Cæsar*, who very well knew the Effects of that Aversion, very cautiously defended himself from that Odium, and one Day, when some People call'd him *Lord and King*, he made Answer, *That he was Cæsar*. Nevertheless, he often let some Discourses fall, which much promoted the Belief People had of his Ambition; particularly, *That a Republick was nothing but a meer Name and Notion, and that Sylla had discover'd great Ignorance in laying down the Office of Dictator*.

Cæsar soon after gave a fresh Occasion of Suspicion to the People, by his displacing the *Tribunes* for imprisoning some Persons who had put Diadems upon his Statues. And by another Instance soon after he still more plainly saw the Minds of the People, at the Celebration of the Feasts call'd *Lupercalia*, where he himself assisted at the Show, seated upon a Tribunal in a Chair of Gold, and his Triumphal Ornaments. *Anthony* passing through the People, who open'd to make him way, went up to the Tribunal, and presented a Crown to *Cæsar*; some clapp'd their Hands as if they approv'd of it, but when *Cæsar* put the Crown back, there was a general Applause: *Anthony* offer'd it a second time, but still with as little Marks of Satisfaction from the People; *Cæsar* again refus'd it, which was follow'd with loud Acclamations on all sides. *Cæsar*, who had laid this Design before, now plainly understood their Sentiments, and thereupon rising, commanded the Crown to be carry'd to the Capitol; nevertheless he took much to Heart this Disappointment, and said that Night to his Friends, *That he wou'd freely offer his Throat to any Man that wou'd cut it*. And tho' he had a thousand Testimonies of the Hatred he lay under, he so abandon'd himself to his Designs, that from this

Moment he neglected all manner of Means of securing himself against his Enemies. He was heard to say, *That he had rather die once by Treason, than to be so miserable as always to live in fear of it.* And at another time, *That the Republick had more Interest in his Preservation than himself.* And one Day being at Supper with *Lepidus*, as his Friends disputed among themselves what Death was easiest, he reply'd to 'em, *That which is most sudden and least foreseen.* He disbanded his Company of Spanish Guards, and contented himself with the Protection of his Friends, which Proceeding of his much facilitated an Enterprize upon his Life soon after.

The Design upon *Caesar's* Life was carry'd on with extraordinary Caution and Secrecy, tho' above three-score Senators enter'd into this Conspiracy, the Principal whereof were *Brutus*, whose Life *Caesar* had sav'd after the Battel of *Pharsalia*, and *Cassius*, both *Prætors* at this time: The Name of *Brutus* had been famous in *Rome* ever since *Brutus* the first Consul, under the Foot of whose Statue was found written, *Wou'd to Heaven thou wert alive,* and certain Billets were thrown into the *Prætor's* Tribunal, in these Words, *Brutus, thou art asleep, and not a true Brutus.* *Cassius* was Author of most of these Things, and he hated *Caesar* upon several Accounts, which made *Caesar* mistrust him; and when his Friends advis'd him to beware of *Anthony* and *Dolabella*, he told 'em, *That it was not those perfum'd and plump Sparks that he distrusted, but those pale and meagre Gentlemen.* Nevertheless he still prepar'd for his Expedition against the *Parthians*, and caus'd sixteen Legions to march, and 1000 Horse for his Passage into *Asia*. He design'd to depart four Days after, when the Conspirators spread a Report, That according to the *Sybil's* Oracles the *Parthians* cou'd not be overcome but by a King, and upon this Pretence *Cotta* was to propose the giving him that Title to the Senate. *Cassius* took this Occasion to go and visit *Brutus*, demanding

manding of him, *If he would be at the Senate-House when Caesar's Friends were to propose the declaring of him King?* Brutus told him, *That he would be absent at that time.* But, reply'd Cassius, *suppose you are call'd thither?* Then, answer'd Brutus, *I should think it my Duty to speak, oppose, yea and die too, rather than part with the Liberty of Rome.* Ah, reply'd Cassius, *what generous Roman would suffer you to die for his Liberty?* You are ignorant, Brutus, *who you are, if you imagine that those Billets came from less than the most Illustrious and Bravest Men of Rome.* From other Prators they demand Games, Shows and Plays, but from you, whose very Name is a Terror to Tyrants, they cry for the Ruin and Downfall of Arbitrary Power, being ready to expose themselves to the utmost Hazards, in expectation of your auspicious Aid. After this Conversation they parted, and the Name of Brutus, whose Person was much esteem'd, engag'd a great many in the Conspiracy; so they resolv'd to put their Design in Execution upon the very Ides of March, and in the Hall of the Senate.

A great many Prodigies and Dreams foretold this Misfortune to Caesar, and Spurina, a famous Augur, told him, *That great Dangers threaten'd him upon the Ides of March.* He dreamt the same Night, that he was carry'd above the Clouds, and that he shook Hands with Jove; and his Wife Calpurnia also dreamt, that her Husband was assassinated in her Arms, the Doors of the Chamber opening at the same time of their own Accord with much Noise. This last Accident somewhat confounded him, and his Wife by her Prayers and Tears, prevail'd so, that he would not go abroad that Day. But another Brutus, surnam'd Decimus, who was one of the Conspirators, tho' of the Number of his intimate Friends, caus'd him to change his Resolution, telling him, *He was much expected at the Senate, and it would be a great Shame for him not to venture out of Doors, but when it should please Calpurnia to dream favourably:* So Decimus carry'd him almost by Force

out of his Lodgings, and as every thing seem'd to contribute to his Destruction, a Slave, who came to give him Advice of the Conspiracy, cou'd not get up to him by reason of the Croud of People that surrounded him. *Artimedorus* his Host and Friend having given him a Letter to the same purpose, he mingl'd it without reading of it among other Papers that were given him: And *Lena*, who was one of the Conspirators, entertaining him a great while in private as he came out of his Litter; the others, who believ'd themselves discover'd, thought already of killing themselves with the Daggers which they had under their Robes, when *Lena*, quitting *Cesar*, and kissing his Hand, gave them to understand, that he thank'd him for some Favour which he came to obtain.

The Assembly of the Senate was at this time held in a Place which *Pompey* had built for that Purpose, and from thence was call'd the Court or Hall of *Pompey*, where was to be seen his Statue in Marble, rais'd upon a Pedestal. *Cesar*, as he was entring, met *Spurina*, and smiling told him, *The Ides of March were come; Yes*, reply'd the *Augur*, *but they are not past*. As soon as he had taken his Place, the Conspirators mov'd towards him under Pretence of saluting him, and *Tullius Cymber* approach'd to ask Pardon for his Brother who was then in Exile: *Cesar* deferr'd the Matter, and put back *Cymber*, who press'd upon him so far as to take hold on both sides of his Robe, and when *Cesar* cry'd out, *That this was Violence*, *Casca*, who stood behind him, gave him the first Stab with a Poniard nigh the Shoulder, but the Weapon glancing, the Wound was not Mortal. *Cesar* struck *Casca* through the Arm with his Dagger, crying out, *Vile Traitor, what do you mean?* *Casca*, on the other side, call'd his Brother, and *Cesar* wou'd have rais'd himself, but he receiv'd a mortal Wound in his Breast, and all the Conspirators charg'd upon him together with so much Fury, that many of 'em were wounded themselves. He nevertheless made
great

great Resistance, rushing and leaping among 'em like a Lion, till perceiving *Brutus* with his Dagger in his Hand, he struggl'd no more, but cry'd, *What, my Son Brutus, and thou too?* then covering his Face with his Robe, and drawing his Skirts down to his Knees, that he might fall decently, he dropp'd down at the Foot of *Pompey's* Statue, having receiv'd three and twenty Wounds, and the rest of the Senate looking on with Wonder and Amazement, not being able to assist him.

Thus fell the great *Julius Caesar* in the 56th Year of his Age, in the Court of *Pompey*, and at the Feet of *Pompey's* Statue; a Man of the greatest Soul, the most magnanimous Spirit, and of the most wonderfull Accomplishments and Abilities, that *Rome*, or perhaps, the World ever saw; whether we consider him in his Care and Vigilance, in his Valour and Conduct, or in his Knowledge and Learning; all which noble Qualities made him belov'd and reverenc'd by the People, honour'd and ador'd by his Friends, and esteem'd and admir'd even by his Enemies. And setting aside his Ambition, which was the Fault of the Times as well as his Temper, he was never much or justly taxed with any great Vice but that of Women. His Death put an end to the first *Triumvirate*, and happen'd in the 710th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3961, about 16 Years after the Beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 42 before our Saviour's Nativity.

C H A P. IV.

From the Death of Cæsar, to the Defeats and Deaths of Brutus and Cassius, by the second Triumvirate, Octavius, Anthony and Lepidus ; which ruin'd all the Remains of the Common-wealth.

Containing the Space of above two Tears.

U. C.
710.

I. **U**PON the Death of *Cæsar*, so great a Confusion and Disorder happen'd among the Senate and People of *Rome*, that the Conspirators soon perceiv'd that their Fact was not like to meet with any general Approbation: All the Senators, who were not Accomplices, fled with such Hast from the Assembly, that some of 'em were in Danger of their Lives as they press'd out of Doors ; and the People, alarm'd at the News, left all their several Employments, ran tumultuously about the City, some for Information, some for Safety, and others for Plunder. Which Disturbances caus'd the Conspirators all to retire to the *Capitol*, to which they were guarded by a considerable Number of Gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus*: What they gave out to justify themselves to the People, was *Liberty*, but that Pretence was not much regarded by them, for they had been so us'd to submit of late, and were so chang'd from their ancient Temper, that they were much more afraid of Poverty than Subjecti-on. *Anthony* now Consul, and *Lepidus*, were extreamly enrag'd at *Cæsar's* Death, and were resolv'd to re-venge

venge it, and the latter immediately got to a Legion of his just by, and march'd 'em into the *Campus Martius*, where *Anthony*, as Consul, commanded 'em. This put the Conspirators upon sending Deputies to *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, desiring 'em, *To consider the sad Consequences of a Division at this time; that no Hatred to Cæsar's Person had put them upon that Design, but only their hearty Love to their Country, which had already been so drain'd by Civil Wars, that any new Disunion must carry off the miserable Remainder; that they believ'd them also too generous to let any particular Hatred transport them to the Prejudice of the Publick.* *Anthony* began to consider, that *Decimus*, who was now Governor of the *Hither Gaul*, might fall upon him with a powerfull Army, therefore he resolv'd to gain what Time he cou'd, and endeavour to get over *Decimus's* Soldiers; and for that reason return'd Answer, *That they were no ways obstinate, but were content to have the Senate assembled upon it; which Answer was receiv'd with much Satisfaction.*

The Senate was immediately call'd, where a great many Debates arose, and several Opinions were urg'd, which were like to have ended in the Approbation of the Fact; but *Anthony* industriously oppos'd that Decree, telling 'em, *That if the Memory of Cæsar were condemn'd, all his Orders ought to be cancell'd; and that wou'd be in Effect to proclaim so many Illustrious Men as he had rais'd, unworthy of their Honours; which, besides drawing upon themselves the Contempt of other Nations, wou'd infallibly turn to the Confusion of the Commonwealth.* After many Heats and Disturbances in the House, the Senate pass'd an Act of Oblivion for all what was past, and ratify'd *Cæsar's* Ordinances, with this Reason enter'd, *Because it was requisite for the Good of the Commonwealth.* This Act of Oblivion brought Things to a more peaceable Posture, but *Anthony* finding the People much discontented, resolv'd to pursue his Revenge upon the Conspirators, tho' he
was

was seemingly reconcil'd to 'em. The next Day therefore he order'd *Caesar's* Will to be publickly read before the Body of the People, which he knew would have a considerable Influence upon 'em. For hereby *Octavius* the Grandson of *Julia*, *Caesar's* Sister, was adopted to take upon him his Name, and constituted Heir of three Parts in four of all his Estate, and *Pinarius* and *Pedius* of the other fourth Part. To the *Roman* People he left the Gardens which he had on the other side of the *Tiber*, and to every Citizen, in particular, a certain Summ of Money. Among his second Heirs, who were to inherit in case of Mortality, he substituted *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conspirators. Several others also who had dipp'd their Hands in his Blood, were nam'd for Tutors for his Son, in case he had left one. These Tokens of *Caesar's* Goodness, and his great Affection for the People, began to move the Multitude extreamly; but *Brutus's* being an Heir provok'd the Indignation of the whole Assembly.

Immediately after this, *Caesar's* Body was brought forth with much Pomp and Solemnity, being born by some of the most Illustrious of the Senate: It was set down in the Middle of the *Forum*, with a Guard of Soldiers; in which Place was erected a little Temple of gilded Wood according to the Model of that of *Venus*; and in this Temple was a Bed of Ivory, magnificently adorn'd with Curtains of Gold and Purple Trophies, and the Robe that he wore when he was assassinated. All the People ran to see this Sight, weeping and lamenting afresh, and those who bore Arms made deep Complaints, as if they demanded Vengeance. *Anthony* ascending the Place, began *Caesar's* Funeral Oration in this manner; Romans, tho' I alone present my self to celebrate the Memory of this great Man, whose Body you see thus mangled here before ye, yet I can read in each Man's Look the Affections of his Mind, and the Thoughts of his Heart, which give greater Praises than my Tongue can express: So that when I shall recount to
you

you the Extent of his glorious Actions, the Variety of his noble Vertues, and the Number of the deserved Honours which the Senate and You have conferr'd upon him, I shall not be so much the Publisher of my own Sentiments, as the Interpreter of Yours. These Particulars he insisted upon after a most pathetick Manner, and after that repeated the Oath which the People of Rome had made to Caesar, by which they swore, *That his Person should be Sacred and Inviolable*: But observing some Alteration in several of the Senators, he concluded with saying, *That what had been done ought rather to be forgotten, since it was the Crime of some Infernal Spirits, Enemies to Rome, rather than Men; and nothing ought further to be thought of, than the honouring the Memory of this Illustrious Hero, and placing him among the Immortal Gods.*

At the End of this Oration, one of the principal Attendants, as if some Fury had possess'd him, tore off Caesar's Robe from the Trophy, and shew'd it to the People, crying out, *That it was the Spoil of a Person belov'd of the Gods, and reverenc'd by the World even to Admiration.* This and several other things he spoke in a most moving Tone, using many great Outcrys and strange Postures of Sorrow, which extreamly stirr'd up the People's Compassion. At the same time was expos'd Caesar's Image in Wax, which mov'd it self by Springs, and shew'd the Wounds which he had receiv'd upon his Face and in his Body, and this Sight transported the People even to Madnes, and made 'em cry out, *That they would inflict the most cruel Punishments, and execute the most dreadfull Revenges upon the Heads of all his Murtherers.* Upon the lighting of the Pile, all the old Soldiers who had serv'd under him, with an unexpressible Grief, threw into the Fire all their Coronets, Pikes, Bracelets, and other Tokens of Honours which he had given 'em. A great many Ladies of Quality also threw in their Children's Robes and Ornaments, with every thing they had of Value about 'em. The People ran and tore up the Benches and

and Seats of the Magistrates just by, and after that with flaming Brands from the Pile, ran desperately to set Fire to the Conspirators Houses; and meeting with one *Cinna*, whom they mistook for another of that Name, they immediately tore him in a thousand Pieces. The Conspirators themselves being of the greatest Families, and well guarded, with no great Trouble repuls'd the People; but nevertheless so great was the Rage and Threats of the People, that they thought it much more safe to retire from the City. All the Strangers in *Rome* mourn'd after their Customs, and more particularly the *Jews*, who watch'd several Nights at *Cæsar's* Pile. At last Divine Honours were given him, and an Altar erected in the Place of his Burning, where *Octavius Cæsar*, afterwards called *Augustus*, caus'd a Temple to be built, and a Pillar of Jasper twenty Foot high, with this Inscription, *To the Father of his Country*.

At the same time that *Cæsar* was kill'd, his Heir and Adopted Son *Octavius* was at *Apollonia* in *Greece*, who upon the first News of it return'd to *Rome* with all speed, with a full Resolution to revenge his Death, not questioning but to find *Anthony* both a Friend and Assitant in this Design. But *Anthony* now was so much employ'd in his Projects of raising and advancing himself, that he could hearken little to that; and when *Octavius* publickly declar'd himself *Cæsar's* Heir, and demanded his Money of *Anthony*, he receiv'd him with great Contempt, and refus'd to give him any, upon several Pretences. Neither *Anthony's* Repulses, nor his Friends Advices to the contrary, could stop *Octavius* from pursuing his Designs, who was now about eighteen Years old, of a great Wit, a lofty Mind, and of a most insinuating Conversation, and had a Face so Comely and Gracefull that it acquir'd him a Veneration from all Men. That he might be sure to gain the People's Hearts, he sold all his Inheritance to pay off the Legacies given 'em by his Uncle *Cæsar's* Will, which procur'd

cur'd him much Love, and *Caesar's* old Soldiers flock'd to him in considerable Numbers, whom he accepted of out of Fear to *Anthony*, who daily became more Suspicious both to the Senate and People. *Anthony* being sensible of the passionate Affection the People had for *Pompey*, to curry Favour, propos'd the Promoting *Sextus* his only surviving Son; that in Requital of his Father's Estate confiscated, he might have an Allowance out of the Publick, and the same Command of the Seas and Navy that his Father formerly had. This was receiv'd with great Applause, and enacted; so *Pompey* was call'd back into *Sicily*, where he afterwards manag'd a sharp War against *Octavius*.

Anthony was still Restless, and resolv'd to have some Province assign'd him, that he might get the greater Authority; and the Difference daily increasing between him and young *Caesar*, he desir'd to have the Six Legions which lay in *Macedonia*, and obtain'd them by deceiving the Senate with a false Rumour, that the *Getae*, hearing of *Caesar's* Death, had invaded that Province: And because the Senate shew'd great Unwillingness to this Demand, and more Jealousie of his Power, he sooth'd 'em up, by preferring a Law against any Man's being *Dictator* for the future. These Legions he design'd to bring over into *Italy* to awe and command all, and the better to effect this, he prefer'd another Law for changing of Provinces, and by that procur'd *Macedonia* for his Brother *C. Antonius*, which had been assign'd to *M. Brutus*, and the *Hither Gaul* for himself, which had been allotted to *Decimus Brutus*. This the Senate wou'd in no Ways grant, which caus'd him to betake himself to the People, where partly by Force, and partly by Bribes, he obtain'd it. But still he was not altogether so Successfull as he expected; for when he had brought over his Legions, two of 'em went over to *Caesar*, who now was very busie in going through all *Italy*, and gathering together Soldiers out of the Colonies which his Uncle had planted. At length

length *Anthony* with a considerable Army march'd into *Gaul*, from whence he commanded *Decimus Brutus* to depart, who gave Way to him a-while; but at last retreated to *Mutina*, where *Anthony* soon after freightly besieg'd him: And thus a new War broke out in about three quarters of a Year after *Cæsar's* Death.

U. C.
711.

II. About this time new Consuls were made, which were *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, both great Friends of *Julius Cæsar*, as well as Intimates of *Cicero*, the former of which serv'd under *Cæsar*, and gave the Relation of the Wars of *Egypt* and *Africk*, which is annex'd to his Commentaries. Upon their Assembling the Senate, *Anthony* was declar'd Enemy to the State, but especially by *Cicero's* Means, who now had made many ingenious and severe Invectives against him, which, in Imitation of *Demosthenes*, he publish'd under the name of *Philippicks*. This prov'd of great Advantage towards the Bringing in, and Preferring young *Cæsar*; for tho' the Senate, as being generally of *Pompey's* Faction, had little or no Esteem for him, yet they resolv'd to make Use of him for his Army's sake, and upon that Account erected him a Statue, made him a Senator, tho' at this Age, decreed that he shou'd be consider'd as ten Years older in Respect of publick Preferment, and likewise gave him equal Power with the Consuls themselves, whom they sent with all speed to relieve *Decimus* now besieg'd by *Anthony*. The Consuls took *Bononia*, and *Anthony* meeting *Pansa*, overthrew him; but returning carelessly to his Camp, was worsted by *Hirtius*. Soon after a General Battel was fought nigh *Mutina*, where in *Anthony* with much Difficulty was defeated, and fled to *Lepidus*, who then Commanded in the Further *Gaul*. Both the Consuls dy'd of their Wounds, and *Decimus* being at this time Spar'd by *Cæsar*, thought of getting to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, now in *Greece*; but his Soldiers, not pleas'd with the Journey, went over part to *Cæsar*, and part to *Anthony*; and himself, endeavouring with a few

few Attendants to pass through *Gaul*, was taken and betray'd at *Aquileia* by *Sequannus* Governour of the Country, who sent his Head to *Anthony*. This was the End of one of the chief Conspirators, which was attended with the Deaths of *Trebonius* and *Basilus* much about the same time; the Former, excluding *Dolabella* from *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, by reason the Senate had declar'd him an Enemy, was taken by him, and after grievous Torments, had his Head cut off, which the Soldiers kick'd about after a most contemptuous Manner; and the Latter was murder'd by his own Slaves, whom before he had us'd very severely.

The Senate now finding little or no Occasion for *Cæsar*, slighted him extreamly, and decreed all the Honour that he had gain'd to *Decimus*, whom he had reliev'd; besides, they gave him many detracting and reproachfull Words, and deny'd him a Triumph when he demanded it. From this Moment he resolv'd to joyn with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*; for since the Senators were most against his Uncle, he cou'd not revenge his Death without some new Assistance; and at the same time that he wrot to these two, he sent 400 of his Soldiers into the City, in the name of his Army, to demand the Consulship for him. The Senate was as ready to deny him as the other two were to joyn with him, which caus'd *Cæsar* to send for *Anthony* and *Lepidus* into *Italy*. The News of their Approach, and at the Head of seventeen Legions, so frighted and startl'd the Senate, that they immediately declar'd *Cæsar* Consul with *Pedius*; but upon the sudden Arrival of some new Troops, they as soon repeal'd their Decree again; and never was the Senate of *Rome* so distracted between different Interests, and so guilty of Irresolution as at this time. These new Troops not answering their Expectations, the Senate again decreed him Consul, and moreover advanc'd him above all Example: They decreed that after his Consulship he shou'd take Place of all Consuls, and tho' formerly they were displeas'd with

his levying Forces, as being a private Man, now they desir'd him to encrease his Army, and order'd him the Legions of *Decimus*. The City was likewise committed to his Care, and Power given him to act what he pleas'd, tho' without the Prescript of the Laws, which he retain'd to his Death.

Soon after, *Anthony* and *Lepidus* came into *Italy*, where *Cæsar* met 'em, and after three Days Conference, enter'd into a strict Combination with 'em; in which it was agreed, *That Cæsar shou'd quit his Consullship, and leave the Title to Ventidius, Anthony's great Friend: That the Supreme Authority shou'd be divided between these three, which they shou'd keep for the Space of five Years under the Name of Triumviri, and in Quality of the Reformers of the Common-wealth: That Anthony shou'd have all Gaul, except Narbon, which Lepidus was to have with Spain; and Cæsar shou'd have Africk with Sicily and Sardinia: Italy and the Eastern Provinces were for a while to remain in Common. They further agreed, That all their Enemies shou'd be destroy'd; and in this the Case of Cicero caus'd the greatest Controversy; for Anthony, his implacable Enemy, wou'd consent to nothing till his Death was determin'd: Lepidus was content with it, but Cæsar wou'd willingly have preserv'd him upon the Account of former Friendship, yet at last he consented, and for that Reason Lepidus permitted his Brother *Paulus*, and *Anthony* his Uncle *Lucius*, to be likewise proscrib'd. Lastly, it was agreed, That Lepidus shou'd be made Consul for the following Year, and Guard Rome and Italy, while the other two manag'd the War against Brutus and Cassius, who now were strongly possess'd of Greece and Syria, and had lately taken *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*, and beheaded him. In this manner was concluded the Second *Triumvirate*, above a year and a half after *Julius Cæsar's* Death, the Consequences whereof were very terrible, and which in effect gave the last Blow to all the Roman Liberty.*

III. Now

III. Now was the City of *Rome* in a very miserable Condition, for the first Thing done by the *Triumviri*, after Establishment of their Authority, was a dreadful *Proscription* of 300 of the *Senatorial*, and about 2000 of the *Equestrian* Rank; and nothing but Cries and Lamentations were heard through all the City, and Murders committed in all Places by the Soldiers. No Man dared refuse Entrance to any of 'em, who search'd the most secret Places, and *Rome* at this time appear'd like a City wholly expos'd to Wast and Pillage. Many uncondemn'd Persons perish'd in this Confusion; some by Malice or Mistake, and others for concealing or defending their Friends: In short, all the most tragick Fury that either Revenge or Interest cou'd produce, and all the most generous Kindness that Love or Fidelity cou'd inspire, were to be seen in divers Accidents relating to this *Proscription*. Though the Pretence was the Revenging of *Caesar's* Death, yet many suffer'd upon the Account of their great Estates, others out of Malice and old Grudges, and some for their convenient Houses and Gardens. Among those of greatest Note was the famous *Varro*, who now living to see and feel a second *Tricipitina*, as he calls it in his Writings, yet escap'd with his Life. But *Cicero* was the Man most aim'd at by *Anthony*, which caus'd him to get on Board a Ship with all Speed; but not being able to endure the Sea, he return'd to Land, saying, *That he wou'd die in his own Country which he had so often preserv'd*. Being weary both of his Flight and his Life, he came to a small Village a little above a Mile from the Sea. Here his Servants terrify'd by several Prodigies, partly by Persuasion, and partly by Force put him again into his Litter, and were carrying him back to the Sea. But *Cicero* perceiving those that came to apprehend him, order'd his Litter to be set down, and quietly laid out his Neck to *Popilius Lena*, the *Tribune*, whom formerly by his Eloquence he had sav'd from Condemnation. *Lena* cut off his Head and Hands, which he

presented to *Anthony*, who could not forbear insulting over those poor Members, and crying out, *That his Revenge was compleated, and he had no further Occasion for the Proscription.* But his Wife *Fulvia's* Hatred could not be confin'd to Words, for she pierc'd his Tongue several times with a golden Bodkin after a most spitefull Manner, and *Anthony* order'd his Head and Hands to be set up upon the *Rostrum*, where the People could not without Horror behold those sad Remains of a Man who had so often Triumph'd there by the Force and Charms of his Eloquence. Thus fell the great *Cicero* in the sixty third Year of his Age, *A Man*, as *Julius Ciesar* observes, *that obtain'd a Laurel as much above all Triumphs, as the Enlargement of the Bounds of the Roman Wit, was above that of the Bounds of the Roman Empire.*

About the same time, *Quintus*, *Cicero's* Brother, was slain, together with all his Sons; but *Cicero's* Sons escap'd, for he had before-hand sent 'em to *Athens* to be there educated. Still the City was fill'd with Slaughters, and the ordinary Price of the Head of a *Proscrib'd* Person brought to the *Triumviri*, was 100000 Sesterces, if done by a Free Man; and half as much if done by a Slave, with the Freedom of the City. This corrupted a great Many, who forgetting both Duty and Natural Affection, betray'd those whose Preservation they ought principally to have endeavour'd. Tho' many rare and admirable Examples of the Love of Wives to their Husbands, and of Slaves to their Masters, appear'd, yet those of Children to their Parents were less Common. However, *Oppius's* Act may stand for many, who, *Aeneas* like carry'd out his old and decrepid Father upon his Back, and convey'd him to the Sea, sometimes leading, and other times carrying him, till they both escap'd into *Italy*; from whence afterwards upon his Return, the People out of a just Sense of his Piety made him *Exile*, in which Office wanting Money to set out the usual Games, the Work-men did all with-

out Wages, and the Spectators enrich'd him by their Voluntary Contributions. As many as could escape the Cruelty of the Proscription, fled either into Macedonia to Brutus, or into Africa to Cornificius, but the greatest Number went to young Pompey in Sicily, who was now very Powerfull, especially, by Sea. His Generosity was at this time a very great Succour to many Illustrious Persons; he sent Brigantines and other small Vessels to all the Coasts of Italy, to receive such as made their Escape, and treated them with much Kindness and Civility.

The *Triumviri* having almost satisfy'd their Revenge, began now to think of Money, which they wanted to carry on the War against Brutus and Cassius: For this Reason they drew up a List of 1400 of the richest Ladies of Rome, Mothers, Daughters, or any Relations of their Enemies; these Alliances were far enough fetch'd, for Riches alone was sufficient to make 'em guilty in this Case. These Ladies assembling themselves, first went to the Female Relations of the *Triumviri*, and after that to the Palace of these Magistrates, where, after several Repulses, one of 'em was permitted to speak, upon Condition that the rest wou'd be silent: This was *Hortensia*, the Daughter of *Hortensius*, who alone had been able to Dispute with *Cicero* for Eloquence. My Lords, said she, these unhappy Ladies, which you see here imploring your Justice and Bounty, wou'd never have presum'd to appear in this Place, had they not first made use of all possible Means, which either their native Modesty might allow, or their best Understandings cou'd inform 'em. Tho' it be contrary to the Rules of Decency prescrib'd to our Sex, which we have hitherto most strictly observ'd; yet the Loss of our Fathers, of our Children, of our Brothers, and of our Husbands, is sufficient to excuse us; nay, and to vindicate us too, when their unhappy Deaths are made a Pretence for our farther Misfortunes. To pretend ye have been affronted, but what have the Women done, that they must be im-

verifi'd if they are as blameable as the rest, why do ye not proscrib'd 'em too? In the mean time none of our Sex have ever declar'd you your Country's Enemies: We have neither plunder'd your Goods, nor suborn'd your Soldiers: We have rais'd no Troops against ye, nor oppos'd those Honours and Offices which ye pretend to. We pretend not to govern the Republick, nor is it our Ambition which has drawn the present Misfortune on our Heads: Empire, Dignities and Honours were never made for our Sex. We, alas, have done nothing to affront ye, nothing to offend ye, or so much as move ye to this severe Treatment: a Treatment which neither Caesar nor Pompey ever propos'd in their Wars, nor Marius nor Cinna ever thought of in their Cruelties; no, nor Sylla himself, who first set up Tyranny in Rome; yet, after all, you adorn your selves with the glorious Title of Reformers of the State. This Discourse appear'd so Bold and Dangerous to the *Triumviri*, that they presently sent their Ushers to cause the Ladies to retire; but perceiving the Multitude began to cry out against such Violence, they adjourn'd the Affair till the next Day, and for the Satisfaction of the People, retrench'd the Number of the Ladies to 400, but at the same Time tax'd above 100000 Men, as well Citizens as Strangers. After this the *Triumviri* went into the Senate, to declare that the *Proscription* was at an End, and with all Diligence march'd against *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

U. C.
712.

IV. The Conspirators had now made a considerable Progress in the East, and *Cassius* having got all Syria into his Power, thought of making an Expedition into Egypt against *Cleopatra*, who had made great Preparations to assist Caesar and his Party. But *Cassius* was immediately recall'd by *Brutus*, upon the News that *Anthony* and *Caesar* were now upon their March with forty Legions; of which eight had already pass'd the *Ionian Sea*. Therefore leaving Syria to his Brother's Son with one single Legion, he sent a considerable Party

Party into *Cappadocia*, which flew *Ariobarzanes* as one who had conspir'd against him, and there rais'd vast Summs of Money. After many severe Exactions, he came himself into the *Lesser Asia*, and meeting *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, they consulted about the present War: *Brutus* mov'd to have the Armies pass over into *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and there meet *Cæsar* and *Anthony*; but *Cassius* so far prevail'd, as to have the *Rhodians* and *Lyicians* first reduc'd, who had refused to pay any Contributions, and were very Powerfull at Sea. Both were sensible how Dangerous it was to have any Enemies behind 'em, therefore this Expedition was immediately put in Execution, and in a little Time finish'd, and extraordinary Contributions were rais'd by that Means. The *Rhodians* were sufficiently plunder'd, and scarce any thing but their Lives left 'em, and the Inhabitants of *Xanthus* made such an obstinate Opposition, that scarce any were left alive, for they burnt their City and destroy'd themselves with it. After the reducing of these Places, *Brutus* and *Cassius* met at *Sardis*, from whence, after several Consultations, they resolv'd to march against *Anthony* and *Cæsar*.

Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have seen a Ghost in his Tent after Midnight. He ever employ'd the greatest part of the Night in dispatching of Affairs and in Reading; and one Night being thus employ'd according to his Custom, there was a general Silence through all the Camp, especially about his Tent, when of a sudden he heard an unusual Noise at the Door, which open'd of it self at the same time. *Brutus* casting his Eye towards the Place, perceiv'd the frightfull Figure of a hideous Spectre, of a Proportion much more than Natural, which presented it self before him: He had notwithstanding the Courage to speak to it, demanding, *Art thou a God, or art thou Man, and for what Reason comest thou hither?* I am, reply'd the Spirit, thy Evil Genius, *Brutus*, and thou shalt see me again near *Phillippi*. *Brutus* very boldly answer'd, *Well I will*

see them; and immediately it disappear'd. He presently call'd up his Slaves, who all told him, *That they had neither seen nor heard any thing.* He continu'd walking all the rest of the Night, and early in the Morning went to give an Account of what happen'd to *Cassius*, who told him, *That all this proceeded from the Weakness of his Senses, and the Strength of his Imagination at that time.* As for the rest, continu'd he, *Let us not believe that there are any such Spirits here, that have either Voice, humane Shape, or Power over us; tho' I could wish there were, that we might not only rely upon the Greatness of our Forces, but likewise upon the Assistance of those Immortal Beings, who cou'd not but be favourable to a Cause so Just and Sacred as ours is.* This Discourse satisfy'd *Brutus*, and soon after they pass'd over into *Thrace*, and so to *Philippi*, a City between that Country and *Macedonia*, nigh which the Forces of the *Triumviri* were posted.

It was with a great deal of Fear and Terrour that every Body stood waiting the Success of these two powerful Armies, which were to decide the Fortune of the Roman Empire. The Conspirators Forces consisted of 19 Legions, and 20000 Horse, and the *Triumviri* of the same Number of Legions, but much better compleated, and of 13000 Horse. *Brutus* and *Cassius* encamp'd on a high and convenient Ground nigh the Sea, where they were supply'd with Provisions in abundance. The other Party was much frightned for want of Necessaries, having only *Macedonia* and *Thessaly* open to 'em, for *Pompey* had cut off all Communication from *Africk*, and *Marcus* and *Enobarbus* from *Italy*, by their several Navies. This made *Anthony* extremely desirous of coming to a Battel, which the Enemy being sensible of, refus'd to engage, till *Anthony*, with great Industry, made a Way through a large Fen, and *Cassius* throwing up Works against him, procur'd a general Battel, tho' much against his Will. The Fight was very Sharp and Bloody, and *Cassius* was much

much worsted, and had his Camp taken by *Anthony*. On the other side, *Cesar's* Wings were worsted, and had his Camp likewise taken by *Brutus*. But *Cassius* retir'd to a Hill not far off, expecting the Event of the Battel on his Partner's side, and by reason of the greatness of the Dust he could not discern whose Cavalry it was that made towards him at a Distance: He therefore sent *Titinius* to make the Discovery. *Titinius* was receiv'd with great Joy by 'em, who were bringing Tidings of Victory, but stay'd so long, that *Cassius*, fearing *Brutus* had been routed, and his Friend taken Prisoner, cry'd out, *Alas, to preserve the Remainers of a miserable Life, I have ruin'd my best Friend*: At these Words he retir'd into his Tent, and kill'd himself, or caus'd his freed Man to do it. *Titinius* arriv'd immediately after with the Cavalry, all rejoycing, but their Joy was suddenly dash'd, and *Titinius* first accusing himself of Folly and Laziness, in a great Rage, slew himself upon the Body of his Friend.

Brutus was extreemly sorrowfull for the Death of his Companion, whom he call'd *the last of the Romans*, causing his Body privately to be remov'd and bury'd out of Sight, lest his Army shou'd be dejected. In the mean time he told his Friends, *That he thought Cassius very happy in being beyond the Reach of those Misfortunes which remain'd for them to suffer*. He for some little Time kept from Fighting, expecting to starve his Enemies, who were now in extream want of Provisions; but at last, being forc'd to it by the Fear of a general Desertion, and the Eagerness of his Soldiers, he drew 'em up in Battalia. It is reported, that the Spectre which he had seen before, appear'd to him again the Night before this great Battel, but now said nothing. Whatever melancholy Apprehensions he had upon him, he encourag'd his Men as much as possible, and when the Battel began, the Eagerness of both Parties, made 'em throw aside their missive Weapons, and betake themselves immediately to their Swords, fighting

ing with great Fury, till at length *Brutus's* Party was born down and put to the Rout. *Brutus* fled to a Hill hard by, and there remain'd all Night, and when in the Morning he saw no Way of escaping, he began to cry out, *O unhappy Vertue, I follow thee as a solid Good, but thou art only a meer Notion, a vain empty Name, or at best a Slave of Fortune.* Yet soon after he said, *He look'd upon himself much Happier than any of his Conquerors, since he should enjoy that Reputation which always follows Vertue, and which Tyranny and Injustice could never deserve.* Then going aside with a particular Friend call'd *Strato*, he begg'd of him, *To shew him the last Office of his Friendship*; and seeing him very backward, he call'd for a Slave. *Ab!* then cry'd *Strato*, *It shall never be said, that the great Brutus, in his last Extremity, stood in need of a Slave for want of a Friend*; so turning away his Head, he presented the Sword's Point to *Brutus*, who threw himself upon it, and immediately expir'd.

This was the End of these two memorable Persons, *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and as some write, they themselves died by the same Weapons that they kill'd *Cæsar* with, who had given 'em their Lives after the Battel of *Pharsalia*, and after that, had loaden 'em with his greatest Favours. All such as knew themselves guilty of *Julius Cæsar's* Death, slew themselves with their own Hands; but the rest rallying themselves, sent Deputies to *Cæsar* and *Anthony* for an honourable Composition, which the two Generals frankly allow'd of. By this famous Overthrow the *Triumviri* establish'd their Authority so far as to give the last Blow to the *Roman Liberty*; for the Opposition they met withall from *Pompey* was inconsiderable in respect of this, in which they were to dispute for one Half of the *Roman Dominions*. This happen'd above two Years after *Julius Cæsar's* Death, and about half a Year after the second *Triumvirate*, in the 712th Year of the City, and 40 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. V.

From the Deaths of Brutus and Cassius, to the Banishment of Lepidus; which vary'd the Course of the Triumvirate's Power.

Containing the Space of Six Years.

I. **A**S the last Struggles of a dying Commonwealth are generally the most Violent, so were these of Rome the greatest that ever she had for the maintaining her Liberty. For in the Sedition of the *Gracchi*, and in the Wars of *Marinus* and *Sylla*, Rome and Italy were only Sufferers; and tho' in the Dissentions of *Cæsar* and *Pompey* the Troubles were more General, yet several of the Senators and People thought they might well enough stand Neuters out of their Respect to the Common-wealth, which Name in Appearance was still reverenc'd: Whereas in this last Occasion the Mask was wholly laid aside, and all things were carry'd on in such an open Manner, that there was an absolute Necessity of Declaring for Liberty or against it. But now all Pretence of Liberty was utterly ruin'd by the Defeats of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and from that Moment the *Triumvirs* began to act as Sovereigns, and to divide the Roman Dominions between 'em as their own by Right of Conquest, tho' *Lepidus* was not much consider'd by the other two, as either having no Share in this last Battel, or little Interest among the Soldiers. The following Days, after the Victory, were employ'd

U. C. 712.

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by the *Triumviri* in Punishing their Enemies; *Anthony* sacrific'd *Hortensius* to the Memory of his Brother *Caius*; *Livius Brutus*, the Father of that *Livia* who was afterwards marry'd to *Augustus*, kill'd himself in his Tent; and *Quintilius Varus*, adorn'd with all the Marks of those Honours he had born, caus'd himself to be slain by his freed Man. *Cesar*, upon this Occasion, appear'd more Cruel than was agreeable to his natural Temper; he sent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome* to be thrown at the Feet of his Uncle's Statue, and forc'd a Senator and his Son to draw Lots for their Lives, but they both refus'd it; the Father voluntarily gave up himself to Execution, and the Son stabb'd himself before *Cesar's* Face. To another that begg'd of him to have the Rites of Burial, he said, *That that wou'd soon be at the Disposal of the Ravens*. These bitter Words and rigorous Punishments render'd him both odious as well as terrible to all the Prisoners that were brought before him.

After the *Triumviri* had satisfy'd their Revenge, they thought upon establishing their Authority. *Anthony* undertook to go into *Asia* to raise Money in those Provinces that were Tributary to the *Romans*; and *Cesar* took upon him to lead the old Troops into *Italy* to put them in Possession of the Lands that were promis'd 'em. *Anthony* first visited *Greece*, as being the Country where Flattery was manag'd with the most Delicacy in the World, was familiarly present at the Conferences of the Philosophers at *Athens*, and made great Presents to that City. Then leaving *Marcus Censorius* to Command in *Greece*, he went over into *Asia* with all his Troops. There all the Princes of the *East* that acknowledg'd the *Roman* Power, came to make their Court to him, and the fairest Princesses strove to gain his Favour, either by the Charms of their Beauty, or the Magnificence of their Presents. This Crowd of Sovereigns that daily waited in his Anti-Chamber, with their Praises and Submissions, did most agreeably sooth

both his voluptuous and ambitious Temper. He pardon'd all those of *Brutus's* Party that surrender'd themselves to him, except *Petronius* and *Quintus*; the First was charg'd with being one of the Conspirators, and the Other with betraying *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*. But then he took away the Estates of several wealthy Citizens to enrich his Flatterers and Buffoons, and assembling the Deputies of all the Subjects and Allies of the *Romans* in those Parts, in a set Speech he told his Necessities and their Duties, and so squeez'd out of the Inhabitants almost all that Money which had been left 'em by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. After which he went a Progress all over the Country, where he gave extraordinary Demonstrations of Generosity and Good-nature. He pardon'd *Lucius*, Brother to *Cassius*, and several Other of his Enemies in those Parts; only he spar'd none that had a Hand in *Cæsar's* Death, or were of the Number of the Conspirators. *Anthony* then made himself Sovereign Judge of the Differences between the Kings of those Countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Syenes*, for whom the Beauty of his Mother *Glaucyra* was so powerfull as to carry the Crown from his Competitor.

But among all those Sovereigns in the East which depended upon the *Romans*, none were of such Note as *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, whose Conduct in these last Wars had given her good Reason to fear *Anthony*: For tho' she had assisted *Dolabella*, yet at the same time *Serapion* her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, fought for *Cassius*. This she knew had not at all been pleasing to the *Triumviri*, considering what she ow'd to the Memory of *Julius Cæsar*; especially since the Love of that great Man had been sufficiently known to all the World. Upon which she resolv'd to meet *Anthony*, and try how much her Wit and Beauty cou'd plead for her, since Reason cou'd do so little; as if she had been resolv'd to conquer and triumph over the *Romans* in the Persons of their Generals. For besides the Addresses of *Julius Cæsar*, she

she had receiv'd those of *Pompey's* eldest Son; so that never Beauty was ever Signaliz'd with more illustrious Conquests. She had such an Opinion of her Charms, that she question'd not but to revive that Flame in *Anthony's* Heart, of which formerly he had given her a Testimony in *Egypt*, when he had some Command there. But above all, it was her Wit that most supported this Assurance; for tho' her Person was admirable, and the Brightness of her Eyes not to be withstood, yet there were some at *Rome* that did not yield to her in the least for Beauty; but none cou'd compare with her for her agreeable Wit and her charming Conversation, which never fail'd both to please and to persuade. These Perfections, besides her wonderfull Accomplishments in respect of Tongues and Learning, made her resolve to go in Person to *Anthony* in *Cilicia*, who had sent *Dellius* to cite her to give an Account of her late Conduct.

Never did any Princess appear in a more singular and magnificent Manner than *Cleopatra*; arriving at the Mouth of the River *Cydus*, she embark'd in a Vessel whose Stern was of Gold, the Sails of purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which gently kept Time to a Consort of excellent Musick. The Queen was laid under a Canopy of rich Cloth of Gold, dress'd like *Venus* rising out of the Sea, with lovely Children about her like *Cupid's* fainning her, and her Women habited like *Nereids* and *Graces*, leaning negligently on the Sides and Shrouds of the Vessel: The Sweets that were burning perfum'd the Banks of the River, which were cover'd with an infinite Number of People, who ran thither with such Eagerness, that *Anthony*, who was mounted on a Throne to make a Shew of Majesty, was left alone, while the Multitude flock'd to the River with extraordinary Delight and Wonder. *Anthony* in civility desir'd her to land and sup with him, but she immediately desir'd his Company first, which he wou'd not deny for fear of appearing ill bred. He was extremely surpriz'd at the

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Neatness and Magnificence of the Entertainment, and with the Ingenious Placing of the Lights, and many other odd Contrivances. The next Day he in his Turn wou'd treat her, and endeavour'd to out-go her in Sumptuousness, but he soon perceiv'd he was far short of it; whereupon he turn'd all into Mirth and Railery, which she joyn'd with, and carry'd on with all the Delicacy and Dexterity imaginable; till at last taking a more serious Air in her Discourses, she told him, *That she came not thither to clear her self, but to be recompenc'd for the great Services she had done to him and Caesar in assisting Dolabella, in Commanding a Fleet in Person in spite of Cassius and his Commanders,* with many other Things, which she related with that Art and Cunning, and that Wit and Pleasantry, that *Anthony* cou'd no longer defend his Heart; but from that Moment entertain'd a Passion for her, which was the Cause of all the future Misfortunes of his Life. He was so stricken with her, that he left all his former Business and honourable Employments, and presently follow'd her into *Egypt*, where he liv'd with her all the following Year in all the Ease and Softness that his vicious Temper cou'd prompt him to, and all the Delights and Pleasures which that luxurious Nation cou'd furnish him with.

II. While *Anthony* remain'd idle in *Egypt*, *Caesar* was very busie about settling the Affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the Lands for satisfying the old Soldiers. This he found very difficult, and not a little dangerous, by reason it exasperated so many against him; for it was absolutely necessary for him to give up the several Towns allotted for their Recompence, or else to satisfy his Soldiers with a proportionable Quantity of Money, but that cou'd not be rais'd since the Treasury was so much exhausted. Almost all the Inhabitants of the Towns concern'd in this Matter, came in great Multitudes to *Rome*; and vast Numbers of Women with Children in their Arms, whose tender Years and Innocence drew every

U. C.
713.

every one's Compassion, daily fill'd the Temples and publick Places with their Lamentations. The People of *Rome* talk'd very freely and boldly upon this Account, whose Complaints and Murmurings *Cæsar* bore with all the Discretion and Cunning imaginable, first borrowing what Money he cou'd, but finding not that sufficient, he at last broke through all Difficulties, and gave his Soldiers Places and Lands for their Inheritance, as he first design'd. The City of *Cremona* was one that suffer'd most in this Distribution, for being so much of *Brutus's* Party, and *Mantua* by reason of her Neighbourhood had more than her Share in these Misfortunes, in which the *Muses* Darling, the greatest Wit and best Poet that ever *Italy* produc'd, had like to have perish'd. This was the great *Virgil*, who was a Party concern'd in this publick Calamity, for defending the Possession of his small Estate from *Arrius* the Centurion, and very narrowly escap'd by swimming cross a River. And 'tis probable that this Adventure most of all contributed to his further Reputation and Advancement; since these Troubles were the Subject of that excellent Eclogue which was the first of his *Bucolicks*, he being now about 28 Years of Age.

The many Disorders rais'd upon these Occasions, and the frequent Dangers that *Cæsar* was in, gave *Anthony's* Wife *Fulvia* a fair Occasion of endeavouring to bring about her Designs. Her principal Concern was the bringing back of her Husband, which she believ'd nothing but a War wou'd effect; and therefore she resolv'd to prosecute those Methods which her Rage and Jealousie did then prompt her to. *Lucius* the Brother of *Anthony* was then Consul, and to him she principally apply'd her self, who out of Respect to her who had been so great a Friend to him, and out of a Distaste to many of *Cæsar's* Proceedings, readily comply'd with her. Many plausible Pretences were made use of to fall out with *Cæsar*, and such cou'd never be wanting in such unsettl'd and troublesome Times as those. *Rome* was
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now in great Misery, and *Italy* no less; Provisions were extream Dear by reason of *Pompey's* stopping all the Passages by Sea from Abroad, and at Home the Troops consum'd all the Increase of the Land, and also committed a thousand Disorders in the Cities, so that all Trading was ruin'd, and the Shops of most People shut up. *Lucius* made great use of these Mischiefs, and *Cæsar* did what he cou'd to quiet the Soldiers, and pacify the Country People, who were driven from their Possessions: He heard their Complaints, and promis'd to do 'em Justice, which much incens'd *Anthony's* Soldiers, who were also still more and more stirr'd up by the Artifices of *Fulvia*. *Cæsar* openly complain'd of her, declaring, *She wholly acted against the true Interest and Sentiments of her Husband*; but she hearken'd to none but her Friend *Manius*, who perswaded her, *That nothing but a War cou'd force Anthony from Cleopatra's Arms, and bring him into Italy.*

These Disturbances began in Words, Declarations, Manifesto's, and the like; but soon came to an open Breach, notwithstanding all the Care and Caution of the most Prudent of both Parties. The ancient Possessors of the Lands flock'd all to *Lucius*, and the new Ones to *Cæsar*, and to *Salvidienus*, then coming out of *Gaul* with a great Power: *Lucius* march'd to oppose him, but was diverted by *Agrippa*, one of *Cæsar's* great Friends. Notwithstanding the Weariness of *Ventidius* and *Asinius*, two of *Anthony's* Commanders, *Lucius* was so hemm'd in, and reduc'd to such Straits between *Cæsar* and *Agrippa*, that he was forc'd to retreat to *Perusia*, a strong City of *Umbria*, where he was closely besieg'd by *Cæsar* and his Party. *Ventidius* and *Asinius* attempted to relieve the Town, but *Cæsar* was so well posted that they cou'd not effect it, so that *Lucius* was in a little time reduc'd to great Extremities for want of Provisions for so numerous a Garrison. He made several bold and desperate Sallys, but with no proportionable Success; till finding his Soldiers reduc'd

to the utmost Miseries of Famine, he at last came out in Person, and giving himself up into *Cæsar's* Hands, with great Earnestness interceded for his poor Soldiers, and begg'd, *That his Punishment might atone for their Crimes.* *Cæsar* receiv'd him very Honourably and with much Generosity, and all *Lucius's* Soldiers were pardon'd at the Desire of *Cæsar's* own Men, who cou'd not but pity the Miseries of their old Companions and Country-men. The Town was design'd to be plunder'd, but one of the chief Inhabitants call'd *Macedonius*, in a great Rage set Fire to his House, which consum'd both himself and the whole City. *Ventidius* and the rest made no Resistance, so that this War was ended in a few Months time, and *Cæsar* return'd to *Rome*, where he enter'd in Triumphant Robes, and crown'd with Laurel. Publick Feasts were also celebrated, and it was ordain'd, *That whenever any General hereafter shou'd merit the Honour of Triumph and be crown'd, Cæsar shou'd have a Share in his Honour.*

III. During this last War, and while *Cæsar* was settling his own Affairs with all the Skill and Cunning of a most able Politician, *Anthony* was ingloriously passing away his Time at *Alexandria* in the bewitching Company of *Cleopatra*, and there fix'd by the Charms of that Queen, regarding nothing but the Enjoyment of those Pleasures she every Day presented him with, in some new and delightfull Shape. Never had Woman that exquisite Art of refining and heightning of Pleasures by the Charms of Novelty, that she had; she introduc'd 'em in the most serious Business, and even the most inconsiderable Trifles when manag'd by her Skill, receiv'd such an Air as made 'em the most agreeable Diversions: So that whether they play'd, or treated, or hunted, the Queen still made one, and was the Soul of all, by her ingenious Intermingling some lively Piece of Wit, or by her unparrallel'd Grace in Relating some pleasant Adventure. Among the several sorts of Diversions, *Cleopatra*

patra had invented a Society, which she call'd, *The Inimitable Life*, and those who made the most sumptuous Entertainments carry'd away the Prize; which Treats were prodigiously Expensive, as appears by several Examples out of *Plutarch* and others. By all this Variety of Pleasures and Delights did *Cleopatra* charm this great Man, insensibly carrying him from one Diversion to another, and intirely gaining the Affections of his Soul; so that *Anthony* had almost forgot the great Reputation he had formerly gain'd by his Arms, neglected the Toils and Fatigues of War, and was just ready to let his former Glory be swallow'd and lost in the more softer Delights of Love.

In these Circumstances was *Anthony* when he receiv'd News that his Brother had been overthrown by *Cesar*; that his Wife and all his Friends had quitted *Italy*; that *Cesar* had made himself Master of *Gaul*, which belong'd to him, and had got all the Legions into his Hands which quarter'd there. From another Part he receiv'd Advice, That the *Parthians*, under Command of *Pacornus* their King's Son, assisted by *Labiennus* and *Barzapharnes*, had made themselves Masters of *Syria*: That they had likewise march'd as far as *Jerusalem*, which they sack'd and carry'd away *Hircanus* the High-priest and *Herod's* Brother, Prisoners, *Herod* himself having fled to the Mountains of *Judea*. These Successes, so highly disadvantageous to *Anthony's* Affairs, now began to rouse him from the Lethargy of his Softness, and to make him consider how much his Actions were like to disgrace the glorious Name of *Conquerour*; upon which he got together 200 Ships, and a considerable Army, which he had ready in those Parts. His Design was immediately to fall upon the *Parthians*, but the earnest Instances of his Wife *Fulvia* and his Friends, forc'd him to turn towards *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence passing by the Isles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, he came to *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*. He much blam'd her and his Brother *Lucius* for

occasioning the late Disorders, and here he understood that *Cæsar* had lately marry'd *Scribonia* the Sister of *Libo*, *Pompey's* Father-In-law. This *Cæsar* did to gain an Alliance with *Pompey*, for the Sake of his Shipping, not forgetting the least Thing that might make for his Advantage; and he manag'd all Things with that Secrecy, Skill and Industry, that the most piercing Judgments could by no means penetrate into the Bottom of this exquisite Politician's Designs.

Anthony suspecting *Cæsar's* Conduct, advanc'd towards *Italy*, without shewing the least Concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left Sick at *Sicyon*; which last Neglect and Scorn finish'd what his Infidelity had begun, she dying soon after. *Anthony* crossing the *Ionian Sea*, was there met by *Domitius*, who deliver'd up all his Fleet and Forces to him; from whence they sail'd to *Brundisium*, where they were forbidden Entrance by a Garrison plac'd there by *Cæsar*. This made such a Breach between 'em, that *Anthony* immediately block'd up the Place, and likewise procur'd *Pompey* from *Sicily* to invade *Italy*. *Cæsar* march'd strait to *Brundisium*, where the old Soldiers being unwilling to fight against *Anthony*, the Army endeavour'd all Ways to reconcile these two great Men, which *Cocceius*, Friend to both, at length with much Labour effected; and *Pollio* on *Anthony's* side, and *Mecænas* on *Cæsar's*, both eminent Persons, as Delegates made up this dangerous Breach. All Offences and Affronts were mutually to be forgiven, and a Match was propos'd between *Anthony* and *Cæsar's* Sister *Octavia*, and Widow of *Marcellus*, a Lady of most extraordinary Beauty, and as extraordinary Vertues and Accomplishments. Tho' *Cleopatra* had so large a Share in *Anthony's* Heart, yet he cou'd not without Baseness refuse a Lady of *Octavia's* admirable Qualities; and to avoid all Inconveniencies, he marry'd her. Then a new Division of the *Roman Empire* was made between these Commanders, the Bounds of their Dominions being *Codropolis*, a Town of *Illyricum*, all from that Place
Westward

Westward being to obey *Cæsar*, and all *Eastward*, *Anthony*. *Africk* was left to *Lepidus*, whose Authority declin'd daily, and who having offended *Cæsar*, had been confin'd by him to that Province.

According to this Division, *Anthony* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia* against the *Parthians*; but the Troubles at Home seem'd much greater to both *Anthony* and *Cæsar*, who were now entertain'd with the sad and lamentable Complaints of poor People, ready to starve for want of Provisions, which *Pompey* hinder'd from coming either from the *East* or *West*, by means of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, which he had in his Power, and from *Africk* by his Navy also, which was then most Powerfull at Sea. *Cæsar*, by reason of some former Affronts, would not be brought to any Accomodation with *Pompey*, notwithstanding the continual Cries and Prayers of the Multitude, whose Rage and Fury at last came to that Height, that he was nigh being ston'd by 'em, and *Anthony* too, by coming in to his Assistance. At last both he and *Pompey* were so far perswaded as to come to an Interview; but the Latter demanding to be admitted into the Power and Place of *Lepidus*, the Treaty came to nothing. Yet the pressing Necessities and frequent Mutinies of the People brought 'em together a second Time, where, among some other Articles it was concluded, That *Pompey* shou'd retain all the Islands he had already, and *Peloponnesus* over and above; That he should have the Privilege of demanding the Consulship in his Absence, and of discharging that Office by any of his Friends; That he should leave the Sea open, and pay the People what Corn was due out of *Sicily*; And that the Proscrib'd Persons, except such as were guilty of *Cæsar's* Death, should have all their Liberty to return. And so a Peace was concluded to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all People, which they testify'd by many publick Games and Pastimes.

U. C.

714.

IV. All Civil Wars were now for a while at an End, and *Cæsar* and *Anthony* were about taking the Field against Foreigners; but before that, they nam'd the Consuls for the four following Years, *Anthony* and *Libo* for the First, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* for the Second, *Domitius* and *Sosius* for the Third, and *Anthony* and *Cæsar* for the Fourth, by which Time it was hop'd that they would restore the Liberty of the Common-wealth. *Cæsar*, to keep his Soldiers in Military Discipline, sent one Part of his Forces into *Illyricum*, and led the rest into *Gaul*, where there were some Disturbances. *Anthony* departed for the East against the *Parthians*, which War *Veneridius* had manag'd with good Success, having got several Victories, kill'd several of their principal Commanders, and repell'd 'em in *Media* and *Mesopotamia*. *Anthony* there settled the Affairs of *Syria*, and made Peace with *Antiochus Comagenus*, who had assisted the *Parthians*; and he got the several Kings which he had establish'd in those Parts, to be confirm'd by Ordinance of the Senate, which were *Darius* in *Pontus*, *Pharnaces* in *Idumæa*, *Herod* in *Judea*, *Amintas* in *Pisidia*, and *Polemon* in *Cilicia*. The City of *Athens* he chose to pass the Winter in with *Octavia*, in which Place he intirely gave himself over to his Pleasures and Diversions, quitting all the Tokens and Marks of his Authority to live like a private Person; and in his Court there was no Business talk'd of but only Learning and Philosophy.

As for *Pompey*, he seem'd for a while to be satisfy'd; but as the Treaty between him and *Cæsar* only regulated their Pretensions, not their Ambitions, a Breach was soon made again; the Pretences of which was, That *Anthony*, who was oblig'd by Articles to quit *Peloponnesus*, would not do it till *Pompey* had satisfy'd him for such Moneys as were due to him from the Inhabitants. *Pompey* wou'd by no Means hearken to this, but immediately fitted out a new Fleet, and provided himself of Forces, perhaps giving Credit to *Metrodorus*, who told him, That the present Settlement of Affairs was no

true

true Peace, but rather a Cessation of Arms. He then renew'd his Cruising and Pyracies, which likewise renew'd the former Grievances, and made the People cry out, *That the Business was only chang'd from three Tyrants to four.* But *Metrodorus* in a little Time revolted to *Cæsar*, bringing in with him *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and three Legions; and soon after *Cæsar* put to Sea to invade *Sicily*, but was beaten back by *Pompey*; and afterwards his Ships lying at Anchor, were extreemly shatter'd, and most of his Men cast away. These Misfortunes made *Cæsar* fortify the Coasts of *Italy*, lest *Pompey* should attempt an Invasion, and sent to *Anthony* for his Assistance: Tho' he seem'd intirely taken up with such important Affairs, he found more agreeable ones in another Place; and *Livia* the Wife of *Tiberius* was the Subject of 'em. The Beauty of this Woman, join'd with her refin'd and dextrous Wit, made a great Impression upon his Heart, which was much disgusted at the insupportable Humour of *Scribonia*, whom he divorc'd; and either by his Entreaties or Authority he oblig'd *Tiberius* to yield him *Livia*, whom he marry'd, tho' then big with Child, the Priests allowing of it.

Anthony was now arriv'd at *Brundisium* with 300 Sail, giving out, He came to assist *Cæsar* in this War. *Cæsar* having a little before receiv'd the News of *Agrippa's* quelling the *Gauls*, and having got together a noble Fleet, could willingly have dispenc'd with *Anthony's* Civility. He thought he was already too Powerfull, and therefore sought all manner of Pretences to excuse his going to meet *Anthony*, which Proceedings did not a little displease him, as having been jealous of *Cæsar* for a long time. *Anthony* had then need of Soldiers to use against the *Parthians*; and willing to spare the Charge of a Fleet, he design'd *Cæsar* should take that and furnish him with Land Forces. Whereupon *Octavia* generously offer'd to go to her Brother and clear all Misunderstandings, and reconcile all Differences that were like to arise, which *Anthony* willingly agreed to.

U. C.
716.

Caesar receiv'd her with a Courtesie suitable to the great Affection he had for her, but yet was so backward in answering her Requests, that she publicly address'd her self to his two great Friends *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*, who had a profound Respect for her, both for her great Merits and high Birth. *My Lords*, said she, you see here *Octavia*, a Woman of the greatest Quality of the World, now ready to be made the most miserable of all her Sex, if your great Care and Wisdom prevent not these Misfortunes. The whole Roman People have fix'd their Eyes on me, me the Sister of *Caesar* and Wife of *Anthony*; if my ill Destiny shou'd bring these two to Arms, you have the Chance of Fortune on your side, but I must fall whoever gains, and be reduc'd to the fatal Necessity of losing a Husband or a Brother. This moving Argument, join'd with the Affection *Caesar* had for his Sister, brought him to an Enterview with *Anthony*, where all little Differences were accommodated, and an Exchange made as *Anthony* desir'd; and because the Time of the *Triumvirate* set by the Senate was almost out, they prolong'd their Power for five Years more, without ever regarding the Suffrages of the People. After this, *Anthony* departed once more for *Syria*, *Caesar* deferring his Expedition into *Sicily* till the following Year.

U.C.

717.

Caesar determin'd to invade *Sicily* from three several Quarters; *Lepidus*, who had now join'd him, was to make a Descent from *Africk*, *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, and he himself from *Puteoli*. *Pompey* was resolv'd to oppose each of these Commanders, but at this Time there needed not that Care; for *Caesar's* Fleet was a second Time shatter'd and disabl'd by a Storm, which so swell'd *Pompey* with Imagination, that he styl'd himself *Neptune's Son*. However *Caesar* would not give over his Enterprize; for the same Summer having recruited his Forces, and refitted his Navy, he put to Sea again, and he first overthrew *Pompey's* Fleet; then was again worsted himself, yet after that he landed 21 Legions and 2000 Horse, besides 5000 Light-arm'd Men. No great

great or memorable Action happen'd on Land; but Pompey sent to his Enemy to know if he would fight by Sea; much fearing the Land-Forces. *Cæsar* accepted of his Offer, and in a general Battel finally defeated him, having sunk 28 of his Vessels. The rest were either taken or broken, seventeen only escap'd; and at the Sight of this great Overthrow, all Pompey's Land-Forces surrender'd themselves to *Cæsar*, so that with his seventeen Vessels he fled to *Anthony* in *Syria*, from whom he expected Protection, in Requital of what he had formerly given to his Mother *Julia*. *Messana* still held out for Pompey, but the Garrison at last yielded to *Lepidus*, and that brought all *Sicily* into Subjection.

This Victory, tho' so advantageous to *Cæsar*, prov'd the Ruin of *Lepidus*, who now having got 22 Legions under his Command, and a strong Body of Cavalry, pleas'd himself with the ambitious Thoughts of getting all *Sicily* into his Hands, to which he pretended a Right, as first invaded by him. Whereupon *Cæsar* sent to him to complain of his Proceedings; to whom *Lepidus* fiercely reply'd, *That Cæsar had taken upon him all the Authority of the Triumvirate, when he had as much Right to it as himself.* At this *Cæsar* went alone to *Lepidus's* Camp, with no other Assistance than that of his own Merit, and the Authority he had gain'd by his Victories. The Soldiers of Pompey look'd upon him with great Respect, and drew round about him; which *Lepidus* perceiving, he hasten'd thither and made some of his Men charge *Cæsar*, who presently receiv'd a Hurt by a Dart. Yet *Cæsar*, with a great Presence of Mind, went directly to the Place where the Eagles of the Legions were planted, and taking one of 'em, he advanc'd it in the Air; whereupon all the Legionary Soldiers ran in Crouds and saluted him as their General. *Lepidus* being thus abandon'd by his Soldiers, quitted all the Marks of his Authority which he could no longer keep, took deep Mourning, and came and threw himself
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at *Cæsar's* Feet. *Cæsar* was much mov'd at this sorrowfull Spectacle, but dispis'd him too much to take his Life; and tho' his Soldiers would have kill'd him, he sav'd him, but turn'd him out of all his Authority and Power, and banish'd him to *Cyrcum*.

Thus fell one Head of the *Triumvirate*, and their Authority without any Competitor, came wholly to the Hands of *Cæsar* and *Anthony*; which Authority became almost indisputable by the Death of *Pompey*, which happen'd much about this Time in *Phrygia*, having first rais'd several Disturbances in those Parts. So that all Civil Wars were for a while ended in the *Roman* State, which fell out in the 718th Year of the City, and the 7th of the Second *Triumvirate*, about 8 Years after *Julius Cæsar's* Death, and 34 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. VI.

From the Banishment of Lepidus, to the Death of Anthony; which made Way for Octavius's Absolute Authority, and was the last Step to the Imperial State.

Containing the Space of Six Years.

U. C.
718.

I. **R**OME now began to take Breath after so many Domestick Broils, and *Cæsar* was receiv'd at the City, with a general Joy, the Senators met him at the Gates, and conducted him to the Capitol, follow'd by all the People, crown'd with Garlands of Flowers; where after he had given Thanks to the Gods, they waited on him

him to his Palace. *Cæsar* now thought of nothing so much as the gaining the Hearts and Inclinations of the People, and he much endeavour'd to restore the publick Peace of the City, which had of late been much disturb'd by Thieves and Robbers. For that End he order'd *Sabinus*, with his Troops, to pursue and bring to Punishment, all such as might be found in *Italy* and *Sicily*, and likewise establish'd at *Rome* some Companies for the Guard of the City. This and many other Things he executed with such great Diligence and Dexterity, that the *Romans* began to have an extraordinary Veneration for a Man who had such a surprizing Understanding at so small an Age. Some Cities of *Italy* went even to the erecting Altars to him, especially after one generous Act he did. He had among *Pompey's* Papers a great Number of Letters and Memoirs of the chief Senators, enough to occasion many new Disturbances. These he brought into the *Forum*, and before all the People threw into the Fire, protesting, That he there sacrific'd all his private Resentments to the Good of the Common-wealth, and design'd to give up his Authority as soon as *Anthony* should return from the *Parthian Expedition*. The People extoll'd him to the Skies, and to shew that they ever desir'd to obey him, they chose him *Tribune* for his Life; and by this they likewise thought to oblige him to quit the odious Dignity of *Triumvir*. *Cæsar* willingly accepted of the perpetual *Tribuneship*, but deferr'd the Suppression of the *Triumvirate* till *Anthony's* Return, and sent *Bibulus* to communicate his Design to him; and after he had dispos'd of the Government of the Provinces, he went against the *Illyrians*.

It was believ'd, that the Death of *Pompey* wou'd have establish'd a Peace through all the World; especially since *Anthony* and *Cæsar* might in the Extent and Riches of the *Roman Empire*, have found all that cou'd be desir'd for the satisfying their Ambition: But the secret Hatred between these two, which broke

out

U. C.

719.

out upon all publick Occasions, now began to raise new Commotions in the Roman State. The Passion of *Anthony* for *Cleopatra*; and the extravagant Presents of whole Provinces which he made her, serv'd *Cæsar* for a Pretence to renew the War, and free himself from a Competitor so formidable both for his Valour, and his Reputation among the Soldiers. *Anthony* had now call'd *Cleopatra* into Syria, and there gave her all *Phœnicia*, *Calo-Syria*, and *Cyprus*, with a great Part of *Cilicia*, *Arabia* and *Judæa*; which much displeas'd the Roman People, who daily publish'd scurrilous Discourses of *Anthony's* Prodigality. *Anthony* being inform'd of these Pamphlets by his Friends from Rome, immediately publish'd an Apology, wherein he affirm'd, That the Grandeur of the Roman Empire was never so conspicuous for the Conquests made, as for the Liberality practic'd in bestowing the conquer'd Provinces: That true Nobility was enlarg'd and multiply'd by the numerous Posterity that Sovereign Princes left in several Parts of the World; and that was the Motive that induc'd Hercules, from whom he deriv'd his Birth, not to subject himself to the single Iye of one Wife, but to leave the Foundation of several illustrious Races in all Parts, where he extended his glorious Conquests. These false Reasonings which were design'd to justify his Passion, prov'd more injurious to him, and made him appear odious to the Romans, who made Profession of a stricter Morality.

Anthony besides had march'd against the *Parthians* with a mighty Power, but with very ill Success; for at the Beginning the Enemy slew one of his Lieutenants, and entirely defeated two Legions, and even He himself was reduc'd to such Extremities, that he often despair'd of his own Safety. At last after the Loss of the fourth Part of his Troops, and all his Baggage, he sav'd himself in *Armenia*, by the Advice of a Roman who had been Prisoner among the *Parthians* ever since the Death of *Crassus*. Tho' *Anthony* in this War behav'd himself with his usual Bravery, yet the great Loss and shame-

shamefull Retreat of such a General as he, who in all Probability was once able to have conquer'd his Enemies, much less'n'd his former Reputation. And what was still more disadvantageous to him, was the general Belief that these Misfortunes were owing to his Passion for *Cleopatra*, which had caus'd him to take no Measures aright, but such as shou'd hasten his Return to her. But what principally intrag'd the *Romans* was, the taking *Artabazus* King of *Armenia*, whom *Anthony* led in Triumph into *Alexandria*. This *Rome* cou'd by no means bear, that a *Roman* General shou'd impart such a peculiar Honour to a Foreign Nation, and that she shou'd be depriv'd of the Glory of insulting over vanquish'd Kings, which for so many Years she had enjoy'd. All these Faults of *Anthony*, *Cæsar* made Advantage of, and above all exaggerated the little Value he had for his Country: And when he found the People sufficiently exasperated against him, he resolv'd to send *Octavia* to her Husband, that he might have a plausible Pretence to declare War against him, if he shou'd Offer her the Affront of sending her back without seeing her.

Anthony was now at *Lencopolis*, between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he stay'd with great Impatience for the Arrival of *Cleopatra*, who at last came with great Quantity of Cloathing for the Soldiers, and a vast Summ of Money; at least *Anthony* gave her the Honour of it when he distributed it. Almost at the same time *Niger* arriv'd from *Octavia*, who staid at *Athens*, from whence she sent her Husband word that she had brought him Clothes and Arms, Horses and Presents for his Officers, and 2000 chosen Soldiers well Arm'd. This was very unwelcome News to *Cleopatra*, who fearing she cou'd not prevail against so powerfull a Rival when she appear'd, immediately feign'd a deep Melancholy, abstaining from Food to make her self lean; and when she was near *Anthony*, she beheld him with languishing Eyes, and a despairing Countenance like one besides her self

self with Love; She let fall Tears in his Presence, and turn'd away her Face, as if she desir'd to hide from him those Marks of her Grief. These Artifices, together with the cunning Flatteries of *Cleopatra's* Friends, prevail'd so much upon *Anthony's* Weakness, that they quite turn'd his Thoughts in favour of his Mistress. He broke off his Enterprize against the *Parthians*, notwithstanding all the Instances of the King of *Media*, who offer'd to joyn with him, and oppose that People with his Cavalry accustomed to their Way of Fighting. He only contented himself to make a Match between one of his Sons he had by *Cleopatra* and a Daughter of that King; and after he had sent word to *Octavia* to have her return to *Rome*, he waited on *Cleopatra* to *Egypt*.

Here *Anthony* began to show himself more luxurious and extravagant than ever, erecting a stately Throne of Silver in the most publick Place in *Alexandria*, upon which were two Seats of Gold, one for himself and the other for *Cleopatra*. There *Anthony* dress'd like *Bacchus*, and *Cleopatra* like *Isis*, were seated; and in the presence of all the People he declar'd her Queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Lydia* and Lower *Syria*, associating with her *Cæsario*, the Son she had by *Julius Caesar*. To the Children he had by her he gave the Title of *King of Kings*; and for their Dominions, to *Alexander* the eldest, he allotted *Armenia*, *Media*, and *Parthia*, which he pretended he wou'd conquer in a little time; And to *Ptolemy* the younger, *Phœnicia*, Upper *Syria*, and *Cilicia*; and all things were perform'd with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity imaginable. *Anthony* was still carry'd away with new Pleasures and Delights by *Cleopatra*, and the Delicacy and Profuseness of their Treats still daily encreas'd, till at last the Queen promis'd him upon a Wager to give him a Treat of 60000 Pound Value of our Money. In this Treat was serv'd up a golden Cup with a very strong dissolving Vinegar, in which *Cleopatra* put one of her Pendants, which was a Pearl of an inestimable Value, and immediately drank
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it off. *Plancus*, who was to judge of the *Wager*, presently laid hold of the other *Pendant* which she was then taking off, and gave judgment that she had already won the *Wager*, and *Anthony* himself was extremely troubl'd for the Loss of such a Jewel. The remaining *Pearl*, after the Death of *Cleopatra*, came into the Hands of *Cæsar*, who caus'd it to be cut asunder, and made it into two *Pendants* for the Image of *Venus*, which he thought gloriously adorn'd with half of this prodigal Queen's Supper.

II. *Cæsar* was now much provok'd by *Anthony's* Actions, especially at his affronting his Sister, and made Report of all his Practices to the Senate, who began to have a worse Opinion of *Anthony* than ever. *Octavia* us'd her utmost Endeavours to reconcile these two, alledging, That her Interest ought not to oblige *Cæsar* to declare himself *Anthony's* Enemy, since it wou'd be a shameful thing to have it reported, that the Love of one Woman, and the Jealousy of another, had caus'd the two Governours of the greatest Empire of the World to plunge it into the Miseries of a Civil War. Her great Generosity, her mild Behaviour, together with the Love and Respect to her Husband, still further incens'd the People against *Anthony*, for his ill Usage of a Lady of that extraordinary Merit. *Cæsar* at last resolv'd to declare War against *Anthony*, but put it off for a while, being employ'd all this Year against several People of *Illyricum*; at which same time *Anthony* also left *Egypt* and went into *Media*, where he enter'd into a League with that King.

The following Year *Cæsar* chiefly employ'd in Preparations against *Anthony*, who was now so sensible of *Cæsar's* Designs, that he sent to *Rome* to complain of *Cæsar's* Conduct; alledging, That he had seiz'd upon *Sicily*, without giving him a Share; that he had dispossest *Lepidus*, and kept all his Governments to himself; and that he had divided all *Italy* among his own Soldiers, and reserv'd

U. C.
720.

reserv'd nothing for his in Asia. *Caesar* made Answer to these Accusations, That *Lepidus's* Conduct had oblig'd him to remove him; that as for the Conquests he had made, *Anthony* shou'd have a Share, when he had divided *Armenia* which he had conquer'd; and as for *Anthony's* Soldiers, that it was not likely that they wou'd value a few piri'sull Lands in Italy, after they had conquer'd all *Media* and the Empire of the *Parthians* by the mighty Exploits they had done in following their General. *Anthony* was so inrag'd at this Jeer, that he order'd *Canidius*, who commanded his Army, to march without Intermission with 16 Legions to pass over into *Europe*, and he himself with *Cleopatra* came to *Ephesus*, where his Lieutenants had got together 800 Vessels, of which *Cleopatra* furnish'd 200 with 20000 Talents, and Provisions for all his Forces. *Anthony*, by the Advice of *Demitius*, resolv'd to send back *Cleopatra* into *Egypt* till the War was ended; but she fearing lest *Octavia* shou'd take an Advantage of her Absence, and make her Peace; by large Presents gain'd *Canidius* to represent to *Anthony* a great Number of Inconveniencies that her Departure wou'd occasion; particularly, the Depriving him of the Assistance of the *Egyptians*, who were the best Part of his Navy. These Counsels, and her own cunning Insinuations so far prevail'd upon *Anthony's* depraved Temper, that he consented to her Stay.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* went both to *Samos*, where, for Preparation for so great an Enterprize they began with all the Pleasures that cou'd be invented. Never were any Man's Cares so pleasantly divided as *Anthony's*; on one side all the Kings, Princes and Potentates from *Egypt* to the *Euxine Sea*, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, had Orders to send Arms, Provisions and Soldiers to *Samos*; on the other, all the Players, Musicians and Buffoons were oblig'd to repair to this Isle: So that many Times when a Ship was thought to be laden with Soldiers, Arms and Ammunition, it prov'd to be full of Players, Scenes and Machines; and while all the

the rest of the World was in extream Misery and Desolation, Joy and all kind of Pleasure reign'd here, as if they had all made choice of this Place to retire to. But how Magnificent soever their Entertainments were, *Anthony's* Displeasure had so sowr'd his Temper, that he began to suspect *Cleopatra* her self, and so would eat nothing without a Taster. But *Cleopatra* by her dextrous Management, by several Instances let him see, *That he cou'd have no Guard against her Address, were not her Heart interest'd in his Preservation*; which made *Anthony* leave off his troublesome Precautions, which he found uselefs against the Arts of a Woman, who could so skilfully mingle inevitable Snares of Death among her Pleasures. Every City of *Anthony's* Empire had a Share in his Sacrifices, and sent an Ox thither to be offer'd, and the Kings who accompany'd him contended who should make the noblest Entertainments, so that it gave Occasion to one to ask, *What Rejoycings they would make for a Victory, who made such magnificent Treats before a dangerous War?*

The Stay *Anthony* made at *Samos* was very favourable to *Cesar*, who could make but small Provision for War, by Reason of the Discontents of all the *Italian* Cities, occasion'd by the severe Impositions laid upon 'em, and augmented by the News of *Anthony's* Approach with such formidable Forces. But when they saw that *Anthony's* Preparations serv'd chiefly to fill the publick Places and Theatres of *Samos*, *Cesar* found Means to appease 'em, and to put himself in a Posture of Disputing the Empire with Forces equal to his Enemies. Still *Anthony* began to grow more odious to the *Roman* People; for having brought *Cleopatra* to *Athens*, and there honouring her beyond any Mortal before her, he sent Orders to *Octavia* to leave his House, with all her Children. *Octavia* readily obey'd these Orders, without Murmuring, only lamenting her hard Fate, *because she was made to serve for a Pretence to a War, whose Consequences must needs be fatal to her.* Several of *An-*

thony's Friends not being able any longer to bear with his Disorders, abandon'd him; and *Cæsar* having got *Anthony's* Will into his Hands, found new Matter to complain of to the Senate and People, which was *Anthony's* ordering, *That if he dy'd in Rome, his Body should be carry'd in funeral Pomp through the principal Places of the City, and then sent into Egypt to Cleopatra.* To this a Report was added, *That Anthony design'd to give Rome to Cleopatra, if his Arms were prosperous, and to transferr the Seat of the Empire into Egypt;* so that notwithstanding all the Care of the more prudent Sort, and all their Endeavours to reconcile these two great Men, it plainly appear'd, that nothing but the Sword could decide the present Controversie.

U.C.
722.

III. As soon as *Cæsar* found himself strong enough to carry on the War, he publicly proclaim'd it against *Cleopatra*, and divested *Anthony* of his Authority, which he had in a manner already parted with in favour of that Princess. The Decree imply'd besides, *That Anthony was now no longer Master of his own Will, since Cleopatra, with her Philtres, had taken away the Use of his Reason;* so that he was not to be accounted any Body in this War, which was only manag'd by *Mardion* her Eunuch, and *Irás* and *Charmia* her Women, who were all his Governours. All *Anthony's* Followers were invited over with great Promises of Rewards, but not declar'd Enemies, partly to prevent their growing Desperate, and partly to render *Anthony* more inexcusable in making War against his Country, only for the sake of an Egyptian Woman. The Forces of these two Generals were answerable to the Empire they contended for, one drawing all the East, and other the West to his Party. All the several Kings of Asia that were Allies of the Romans, follow'd the Fortune of *Anthony*; some by their Persons, and others by their Troops alone; all which, with *Anthony's* Forces, compos'd an Army of 100000 Foot and 12000 Horse, and his Fleet consist-
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ed of 500 Ships of War, whereof many were of the largest Bulk. *Cæsar* in his Party had no Foreign Princes, and his Army amounted to no more than 80000 Foot, but was as strong in Cavalry as his Enemy's: In his Fleet were 250 Vessels, but all Light, better Mann'd, and more convenient than *Anthony's*. This Year, by reason of *Anthony's* recalling his Troops out of *Media* from the Protection of that Country, the *Parthians* became Masters of it, and *Armenia* was likewise lost.

The two great Men being now in Readiness for Action, they began to shew their Hatred by reflecting Letters; and when *Cæsar* reproach'd *Anthony* with his Love to *Cleopatra*, and the Prodigality of his Feasts, he, on the other side, put him in mind of the famous Feasts of the twelve Gods, where he and his other Guests represented the Deities they ador'd. To which he added, His preposterous Match with *Livia*, and the infamous Divorce of *Scribonia*, for not bearing the Insolence of that new Mistress; and all the Roman Ladies that *Cæsar* had any great Familiarity with, were brought upon the Stage. He proceeded likewise to tax *Cæsar* with Cowardice at the Battels of *Modena* and *Sicily*; whereupon *Cæsar* wrote to him, That it was childish to fight any longer with the Pen, but if he would approach at the Head of his Army, he should have Ports in Italy to land without Molestation; that he would draw his Troops so far from the Sea, that *Anthony* should want no Room for Encamping, and putting his Men in Battalia. To make return to this Bravade, *Anthony*, tho' he were much the older, challeng'd *Cæsar* to fight a single Combat; or if he pleas'd, he would give him Battel in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, where the great *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their Differences. *Anthony* was now at *Actium*, a Town on the Coast of *Epirus*, at the Entrance of the Gulf of *Ambracia*; and while he lay there without Action, *Cæsar* went from *Brundisium*, and surpriz'd *Toryne*, a City nigh *Actium*. This Exploit animaz'd *Anthony's* Soldiers, because his Legions were

U. C.

723.

not yet arriv'd; but *Cleopatra* to re-assure 'em, made slight of it, and in a jesting Way said, *What Damage is it for Caesar to take the Scummer?* alluding to the Word *Toryne*, which signifies a *Scummer*.

Anthony had brought all his Ships into the Gulf, whither *Caesar* the next Day after the taking of *Toryne* came and offer'd him Battel. *Anthony's* Vessels were very ill Mann'd, however he drew 'em into a fighting Posture with the Oars a-peek, as if he intended to bear down upon the Enemy; but *Caesar* durst not engage him in that narrow Passage, and therefore stood off to Sea; the other refus'd to follow, but as he perfectly knew the Country thereabouts, he cut off the Water from *Caesar's* Camp on every side, which much distress'd his Army. But the Success of *Agrippa* in taking *Leucadia*, *Petrus* and *Corinth*, about this Time, much reviv'd the Soldiers, and likewise occasion'd *Amintas*, *Deiotarus* and *Domitius* to go over to *Caesar*. To the latter of these, *Anthony*, according to his natural Generosity, sent his People and all his Equipage, which so sensibly touch'd *Domitius*, who was Sick already, that he was not able to outlive the Grief of abandoning a Man who thus by Kindness only had reveng'd his Perfidiousness. In the mean-time *Canidius* arriv'd with the Legions, who now began to change his Mind concerning *Cleopatra*, desiring *Anthony*, To send her back, and go himself into *Macedonia*, where he might fight by Land with so much more Advantage, because *Dicomes*, King of the *Getes*, had promis'd him a powerfull Assistance: He farther told *Anthony*, That it would be a renouncing both Sense and Reason to put a Victory to the Hazard of the Seas and Winds, which they were certain of at Land, by the Valour and Experience of their General, who, to this Day, had kept up the Title of Invincible; and by the Hearts and Courages of their Soldiers, who had been try'd in so many great Dangers. *Anthony* was much inclin'd to follow this Advice, but *Cleopatra*, whose Words were Oracles, byass'd him the other Way, and oblig'd him against his

his Will to hazard both his Empire and Life in a Sea-fight; and this, that he might escape with more ease, if *Anthony* should lose the Day.

Anthony had now resolv'd to fight by Sea, and while he was putting his Fleet in Order of Battel, a brave old Soldier, all cover'd with Scars, spoke thus to him aloud, *My noble General, do you despise this good Sword, and this old Arm, which all my Wounds could ne'er yet weaken, that you should put your Confidence in brittle Boats and rotten Wood? Leave the Water to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, People born and nurs'd up in that Element, but leave us Romans to the firm Land, where we may boldly meet Death, and fall like Men.* *Anthony* answer'd nothing, only by the Motion of his Head seem'd to encourage him, tho' he himself was not well satisfy'd; for when his Officers propos'd taking away the Sails, he oppos'd it, alledging, *That he would have none of the Enemy escape.* That Day, and the three following, the Sea was so rough they could not engage, but on the fifth, the two Fleets advanc'd towards each other in good Order. *Anthony* in his *Brigantine* went about encouraging his Men with the Remembrance of the many Victories they had gain'd under his Conduct, telling 'em besides, *That this Day as he expected the Empire of the World from their Valour, so they might expect Rewards answerable to so noble a Conquest.* *Cæsar* on his Side gave no less Hopes to his Soldiers, especially since they seem'd fearfull of the Enemies Fleet; and among other things, said, *The Enemies Vessels are laden indeed, but not mann'd; and if they exceed us in Multitudes of Men we surpass them in Number of Soldiers. Be therefore now, as ye have ever been, Conquerours; to speak more were to detain you from Victory, only call to Mind your ancient Valour; and remember that I am Cæsar, and you Romans.*

It was both a noble and a terrible Sight, to see the Shore on one side o'erspread with 200000 fighting Men, and the Sea cover'd on the other with an incredible Number of Vessels fill'd with Soldiers. Nor was the

Battel less remarkable, which began on both Sides with great Fury and Obstinacy, and so continu'd for a considerable Time; when *Cleopatra*, weary'd with Expectation, or overcome with Fear, unexpectedly tack'd about, and fled toward *Peloponnesus* with sixty Sail. And what was still more surprizing, *Anthony* himself, who had formerly shewn so many eminent Marks of his Valour, now forgot the Care of his Honour and Safety, and fled after her, playing the Part of a cowardly Soldier, while each of his Soldiers perform'd the Office of a courageous General. Thus *Anthony* abandon'd his Men that so generously expos'd their Lives for his Interest; and getting into *Cleopatra's* Gally, he sat for a long Time by himself in a confus'd melancholly Posture, without so much as seeing the Queen, tho' he had follow'd her without any apparent Reason but the Thoughts of her Absence. The Battel, notwithstanding, continu'd till five in the Evening, when *Anthony's* Forces were partly constrain'd and partly persuaded to submit; and in this *Cæsar's* Clemency did much efface the Memory of the Battel of *Philippi*, and the cruel Proscriptions of the *Triumvirate*. The Consequence of this Victory was very advantageous to *Cæsar*, for all *Anthony's* Land-Forces, tho' Resolute enough for a while, were in a little time after very willing to accept of such Conditions as *Cæsar* offer'd, and upon that all yielded to him, *Cæsar* generously sparing all but a very few, who in a particular Manner were his declar'd Enemies.

Anthony now was carry'd away with melancholly Reflections and despairing Thoughts, and through Shame or Anger refus'd to see *Cleopatra* for several Days together; till arriving at *Tenarus*, her Women so bestirr'd themselves, that they brought 'em to see one another, and to eat together. Here News was brought him by several of his Friends of the Defeat of his Fleet; but not suspecting the Revolt of his Army, he wrote to *Candidus* to retreat through *Macedonia*, and return to *Asia*, and took what Care he cou'd for the Safety of his
Friends

Friends that were about him, offering 'em what Money he had, and commanding 'em to leave him. After this he retir'd to *Africk*, from whence he sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and remain'd almost alone, without any other Company than *Aristocrates* and *Lucilius*; one a *Greek* and the other a *Roman*, both excellent Orators. Here *Anthony* heard of the Revolt of his Land-Forces, which put him into such a violent Rage and Dispair, that he attempted to kill himself; from which he was hinder'd by the Prayers and Remonstrances of his Friends, who perswaded him to return to *Alexandria*, where he found *Cleopatra* about an Enterprize that well shew'd the Greatness of her Spirit. This Queen had drawn her Gallies upon Carriages for 100 Mile, over that Neck of Land which joins *Asia* to *Africa*, to the *Red-sea*; where she design'd to embark her self with all her Treasure, and her choicest Friends, and plant her self in some remote Part of the World. But the *Arabians* soon forc'd her to abandon that Design, and thereupon she apply'd her self to fortify the Avenues of her Kingdom, which were of very difficult Access. *Anthony's* Behaviour was very different, shewing nothing but a shamefull Weakness: He shunn'd all Company, and built a House near the *Pharos*, where he shut himself up without either Friends or Domesticks, To imitate *Timon*, as he said, *since he had no less Reason to hate Mankind than that Athenian, being betray'd by those whom he had most oblig'd.* But he could not long force his natural Temper, and therefore, as Debauching is a great Relief to People of his Humour, he quitted his Cell in a little Time, and apply'd himself wholly to Feasting and Luxury, and many sorts of Extravagancies.

IV. *Caesar* was now in *Italy*, whither he was recall'd by *Agrippa's* Letters, after he had pass'd one part of the Winter in *Athens*, and the other at *Samos*. The Occasion of his Return into *Italy* was the Mutiny of

U. C.

724.

his Soldiers which he had sent to *Brundisium* after the Victory, who, after their usual Custom, had demanded their Rewards and their Discharge. *Caesar* stay'd at *Brundisium* but a short Time, only while he appear'd his Soldiers and gave all necessary Orders; after which, with his Fleet he sail'd into *Syria*, while his Army march'd along the Coasts of *Africk* to attack *Egypt* on the other side. All the Kings of *Asia*, Allies to the *Romans*, came to assure him of their Obedience; and none appear'd more forward than *Herod* King of *Judaea*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his Crown at *Caesar's* Feet, and offer'd him both his Person and his Troops. This Prince was one of *Anthony's* greatest Friends, and for that Reason he had so little Hopes of the Success of his Voyage, that in pursuance of his natural Bent to Cruelty, he left Order with two of his Confidants to put his Wife *Mariamne* to Death, whom he passionately lov'd, in case he should miscarry. This Secret was reveal'd to *Mariamne* by one of his Instruments; and *Herod* being reproach'd with it at his Return, caus'd the Death of this unfortunate Princess, who for her admirable Beauty, and her noble Race from that of the *Maccabees*, deserv'd a better Fate. *Caesar*, to give a famous Instance of his Clemency, pardon'd *Herod*, gave him his Crown, and receiv'd him into Favour; but would not spare *Alexas* the *Syrian*, who had been *Anthony's* greatest Flatterer, and afterwards a most perfidious Traitor to him.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* seeing themselves abandon'd by all their Allies, resolv'd at last to send *Euphronius*, their Children's Tutor, to make some Proposals to *Caesar*. *Cleopatra* privately sent a Golden Crown and Scepter, with a Royal Seat, to *Caesar*, asking the Kingdom of *Egypt* for her Children; and *Anthony* desir'd he might live as a Private Man at *Athens*, if *Caesar* was not willing he shou'd tarry still in *Egypt*. He absolutely rejected *Anthony's* Propositions, but sent to *Cleopatra*, That there was no manner of Favour which she might

not reasonably expect, if she would either put Anthony to Death, or banish him. With this Answer Euphronius return'd, and with him Thyreus, a Free'd-Man of Caesar's, a Person very Cunning, and fit to manage any Intrigue; who coming with a Message from a young Emperor, to an ambitious Princess, possess'd with a mighty Opinion of her own Charms, had no difficult Access to her. But these secret Conferences between Cleopatra and him, and the Honours she did him, threw Anthony into such a furious Passion of Jealousy, that he immediately order'd him to be cruelly Scourg'd, and in that Condition sent him to Caesar with Letters, That he had chastis'd Thyreus for insulting over him at a time when his bad Fortune had put him into an ill Humour; but if this Proceeding offended him, he had his Free'd-Man Hipparchus by him, whom he might use after the same manner, and so be upon equal Terms: Which was a pleasant Way of being reveng'd upon Hipparchus, the first of Anthony's Free'd-Men that went over to Caesar. Cleopatra omitted nothing to clear Anthony's Mind of Jealousy and Suspicion; she redoubl'd her Fondness and Caresses, and when her Birth-day came, she kept it as was suitable to their deplorable Condition; but Anthony's was observ'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, so that all the Guests were enrich'd by the noble Presents she made upon his Account.

In the mean time Caesar, having got all his Forces together, surpriz'd the City of Pelusium, which was surrender'd to him by Seleucus; and it was strait reported, That this Governour had done it by Cleopatra's Order; but she, to clear her self, deliver'd up his Wife and Children into Anthony's Hands. Near the Temple of Isis she had built a stately Building, design'd for a Sepulchre. Into this Place she remov'd all her Treasure, as Gold, Silver, Jewels and other such valuable Things, and fill'd it besides with Torches, Faggots, Tow and other combustible Matter; so that Caesar was much afraid lest out of Despair she shou'd burn her self
in

in it with all those vast Riches. Therefore while he was marching towards *Alexandria* he omitted no Occasion of giving her Assurance of his Respect and kind Usage. The nigh Approach of so formidable a Rival, began once more to rouse up *Anthony*, and reviv'd all those Sparks of Greatness and Generosity in his Breast that seem'd to have been quite extinct. *Anthony* now knew that he had no Hopes but of dying like a *Roman*, and this he resolv'd upon: So he rally'd all the Troops he had, made a brave Sally upon *Cæsar's* Horse, and beat 'em into their Camp, which he put into Disorder; nor did *Anthony* ever shew more Courage and Conduct than now. Upon this Victory, *Anthony* enter'd *Alexandria* as in Triumph, and went all Arm'd to *Cleopatra*, to bring her the good News of his Success, presenting one of his Cavaliers to her, who had behav'd himself bravely in the Fight. The Queen rewarded his Valour with an Armour of Gold, but that very Night, this ungrateful Wretch went over to *Cæsar*, which dangerous Example much troubl'd *Anthony*. He try'd to provoke *Cæsar's* Temper, and challeng'd him to a single Combat; but was coldly Answer'd, *That Anthony had Ways enough to dye without seeking that.*

Anthony now finding his Affairs in a dangerous Condition, resolv'd to make the last Push both by Sea and Land, with a full Design to conquer or dye bravely. He order'd his People to treat him chearfully, and fill him his Wine plentifully; *Perhaps*, said he, *this may be the last Service you can do, for to morrow you may have another Master, while I lie extended upon the Ground, despis'd by all Mankind.* Finding his Friends much mov'd at this sorrowfull Discourse, he added, *However I will not do you so great an Injury as to lead ye where Death is more certain than Victory.* At the dead of Night, when the whole City was in a deep Silence, on a sudden was hear'd a dreadfull Noise of Voices, Instruments and Cryes, like those of *Bacchanals*, which passed through *Alexandria*, and went out of the Gate that looked to-
wards

wards the Enemies Camp, as *Plutarch* relates it. At break of Day, *Anthony* posted those few Troops he had remaining, upon the rising Ground nigh the Town, from whence he sent Orders to his Gallies to engage the Enemy. They advanc'd in order of Battel; but as soon as *Anthony's* Ships approach'd the other, the Soldiers all held down their Arms and saluted *Caesar's*; who returning the Salute, both Fleets joyn'd and stood just against the City. All his Cavalry seeing this, left him, and went over to *Caesar's* Camp, his Infantry being forc'd presently to yield.

This unfortunate General, abandon'd thus by his Men, and finding he cou'd not dye with Glory, return'd back to *Alexandria* overcome with a dreadfull Rage and Fury, crying out, *That Cleopatra had betray'd him, when he had ruin'd all his Fortunes for her sake alone!* The Queen hearing of this, in a great Fright retir'd to her Monument, fastn'd the Doors, and let down the Port-cullis; and then made a Report be spread, that she was dead, which was soon brought to *Anthony*: This sad and sudden News recall'd all that Love and Tendernefs he had for this Princess; O wretched *Anthony*, cry'd he, *What hast thou here in this World, when Fate has snatch'd the only Thing for which thou cou'dst endure to live?* Then retiring to his Cabinet, he laid aside his Armour, and renew'd his Complaints; O *Cleopatra*, said he, *our Seperation is not my greatest Grief, for we shall meet again; but what afflicts me most, is, that I, who have commanded so many gallant Men, shou'd be out-done by a Woman in Courage.* Immediately he call'd *Eros*, the most faithfull of his Free'd-Men, whom he had engag'd by Oath to kill him when he shou'd think it necessary, and now bad him perform his Promise. *Eros* drew out his Sword, as if he design'd to perform that fatal Duty; and turning aside, gave himself a Wound, which threw him dead at his Master's Feet. Dear *Eros*, cry'd he, *I thank thee for teaching me to do what I ought my self;*
and

and so he thrust himself into the Belly; and fell backwards upon his Bed. Tho' the Wound was Mortal, yet the Blood stopping, he came to himself; and most earnestly begg'd of his Friends to dispatch him; but they all fled from him, leaving him in a miserable Condition, tossing and struggling with the Anguish of his Pain, whilst *Diomedes* came to carry him to *Cleopatra*.

Anthony understanding *Cleopatra* yet liv'd, begg'd in the most moving Manner in the World to be carry'd to her; and with much difficulty they lifted him up to the Door of the Monument. *Cleopatra*, having only her two Women, durst not open the Door, but let down Cords from the Window. All the People of *Alexandria* were present at this sad Spectacle, and nothing appear'd so lamentable as to see this great Man, renown'd for so many Victories, bath'd in his Blood, and just expiring, holding out his Hands to *Cleopatra*, and faintly endeavouring to raise himself; and to see this famous Queen striving, with her Body just out of the Window, with the Help of her Women to pull him up, the People all the time seeming to assist her with their Cries and Tears. When after much Pain she had drawn him up, she laid him gently upon her Bed, tearing all her Cloathes in a most violent Passion, beating her Face and Breast, and calling *Anthony* her Lord, her Husband, her Emperour! and tho' her own Misfortunes were very great, yet she forgot them all at the Sight of this deplorable Object. *Anthony* begg'd of her to moderate her Grief and Transports, and ask'd for some Wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it wou'd soon end him. After he had drank, he exhorted *Cleopatra* to endeavour to save her Life if she cou'd do it with Honour, and for that End *Proculus* wou'd be her best Friend in *Cæsar's* Camp; that she wou'd not too deeply reflect upon the cruel Turn of Fortune which he felt in his last Days, but rather think what Glory and Renown he had liv'd in, famous for so many noble Victories, Triumphs and Dignities; and that after he had been the first
Man

Man of the World, and the most illustrious of all the Romans, he was at last overcome by a Roman.

At the finishing of this Discourse, *Anthony* expir'd ; a Person of as great Spirit and Valour as any among the *Romans*, since the Death of *Julius Cæsar* ; yet softn'd, overcome, and entirely ruin'd by a Woman. His Death put an End to all the Civil Wars, and gave *Cæsar* Opportunity to make his Fortunes as he pleas'd ; this happening in the 724th Year of the City, the 3d of the 187th Olympiad, and the 13th of the Second *Triumvirate*, about 14 Years after *Julius Cæsar's* Death, and 28 before our Saviour's Nativity.

C H A P. VII.

From the Death of Anthony, to the perfect Settlement of the Empire by Octavius ; which ended all Disturbances, and brought Rome to its utmost Glory.

Containing the Space of about 3 Years.

I. *Cæsar* shew'd great Satisfaction at his Success and Fortune, yet when *Anthony's* bloody Sword was brought to him, the Sight of it forc'd him to retire into his Tent, where he cou'd not refrain from Tears, when he reflected upon the deplorable End of a Person so eminent both for Birth and Valour, and one with whom he had contracted so strict a Friendship and Alliance. He call'd his Friends in, to whom he declar'd, *That he had contributed nothing to the Overthrow of Anthony through any Hatred or Ambition ; shewing*

U. C.
724.

'em the Copies of the Letters he had writ to him, which contain'd nothing but just and reasonable Proposals, and *Anthony's* Answers full of Passion and Disdain. After this he sent *Proculus* to employ his utmost Address to seize upon *Cleopatra*, extremely desiring to save her Treasure, but more especially to grace his Triumph with this Queen, who had so long triumph'd over the *Roman* Commanders. *Cleopatra* refus'd *Proculus* Entrance, but through the Door demanded *Egypt* for her Children; which caus'd *Proculus*, after observing the Avenues of the Monument, to return to *Caesar*, who the same Instant sent *Gallus* with him to make her new Propositions. While *Gallus* was discoursing with *Cleopatra* below, *Proculus* with two others enter'd by the Window which *Anthony* had been drawn up at; which one of her Women perceiving, presently shriek'd out, *Wretched Princess, thou art taken alive!* Upon this *Cleopatra* turn'd quick, and drew out her Dagger to stab her self; but *Proculus* caught hold of her, saying, *Madam, will you at once injure your self and Caesar, in depriving him of the most illustrious Testimony he can give of his Generosity; and make the best and gentlest Prince in the World pass for Cruel and Barbarous?* Whereupon he disarm'd her, search'd her lest any Poison shoud be conceal'd about her; and after he had secur'd her, he return'd to *Caesar* with this joyfull News.

Caesar was extreainly pleas'd to find this haughty Queen at his Disposol, who before had lifted the Crown of *Egypt* above the Empire of the *Romans*. He first commanded *Epaphroditus* to Guard her with the greatest Care, and yet to serve her like a Queen; after which he made his Entrance into *Alexandria* after a solemn and pompous Manner. The Majesty of *Caesar*, follow'd by so many arm'd Soldiers, who breath'd nothing but Destruction, drove the *Egyptians* into a great Fear, imploring his Mercy upon their Knees. *Caesar* told 'em, *He pardon'd 'em for the sake of their illustrious Founder Alexander, for the extraordinary Beauty of the*
City

City, and for his Esteem for Arius their Fellow Citizen and Philosopher. Several Kings, Princes, and Roman Senators begg'd of him the Body of *Anthony*, to pay their last Respects to him, but he wou'd not deprive *Cleopatra* of that Satisfaction; and more than that, he took Care to furnish her with what was needfull for the Pomp of the Funeral. *Cæsar* took further Care that nothing shou'd occasion the Encrease of *Cleopatra's* Afflictions; but the Greatness of her Soul, and the Nobleness of her Courage made the Loss of her Liberty insupportable to her. Her excessive Melancholly, and the many Blows she had given her Breasts, put her into a slow Fever, which gave her great Hopes of ending her Sorrows, and her Life in a little time. She had besides resolv'd to abstain from Eating, if her Physician had not discover'd this Secret she had trusted him with to *Cæsar*, who presently threatn'd to put her Children all to Death, if she persisted in her Obstinacy: This was the only thing she cou'd be sensible of, and the Thoughts of this made her comply, and receive whatever they prescrib'd her.

After this, *Cæsar* resolv'd to visit *Cleopatra*, and by his Civilities give her fresh Assurance of his Favour. He found her upon a plain Bed, and as soon as she perceiv'd him, she rose in her Shift to throw her self at his Feet, with her Hair in disorder, her Face torn, her Breast bruise'd, her Eyes red with weeping, and her Voice weak and trembling; all which Accidents cou'd not deface the Charming Air of her Face. *Cæsar* civilly lifted her up, and sat down by her; and immediately she fell to justifying her Conduct; but when her Skill fail'd her to do that, she turn'd her Discourse into humble Supplications, and deliver'd him an Inventory of all her Treasure and Jewels. *Seleucus* her Treasurer accusing her of concealing several Things, *Cleopatra*, in a great Rage threw her self out of her Bed, dragg'd him by the Hair, and beat him severely; which some think was only a Pretence of shewing *Cæsar* her beautifull

beautifull Shape and Body, which she had too great a Confidence in. However *Cæsar* only smil'd at this Action, and led the Queen to her Bed. O *Cæsar*; cry'd she, *after the Honour of Visiting me in this miserable Condition, is it not cruel and barbarous, that a vile Slave shou'd accuse me of laying aside a few Trifles; alas, not to adorn my self, but to present 'em to Livia and Octavia, that their generous Intercession may procure your Favour?* This Discourse much pleas'd *Cæsar*, imagining it imply'd a Desire she had of living; and thereupon he assur'd her, *She might keep her Jewels, and that he wou'd use her more generously than she cou'd hope for*, and so retir'd much satisfy'd with his Success, having, as he supposed, over-reach'd her.

Cleopatra being soon after inform'd by *Dolabella*, one of *Cæsar's* Favourites and her Admirer, that *Cæsar* had resolv'd within three Days to send her and her Children away, earnestly begg'd of *Cæsar* to suffer her first to pay her last Oblations to the Memory of *Anthony*, which he granted her. Whereupon she was carry'd to the state-ly Sepulchre where *Anthony* was laid; and only attended by her two Women, she fell upon her Knees, embrac'd his Tomb with extream Passion; and after a Flood of Tears, she cry'd, *My dearest Lord, I was a Queen and wore no Chains when first I plac'd thee in this Monument, but now I pay my Duties, I'm Fortune's Slave; my servile Body is reserv'd to grace the Triumph of thy Foes, on which I dare not so much as print the Marks of my Grief. These Tears, these Pangs of Grief are the last Tokens of the Love and Duty of thy Cleopatra, who now must be forc'd far from thee: No Chance could separate us while living, but our cruel Destiny will part us in our Deaths; and as by a strange Turn of Fate Egypt has afforded thee a Tomb, so Rome will me, the only Courtesy I shall receive from thy Country: Yet I hope the Heavenly Powers that guard your happy Abode, (for ours have betray'd us) will stemm the Conquerours Pride, and suffer him not to triumph over thee in my Person. Hide me there-*

therefore here, and receive me into thy Tomb; for among all my bitter Grievs and heavy Afflictions, none ever press'd my Soul so hard as living thus long without thee.

Upon the finishing of these sad Lamentations, she crown'd the Tomb with Garlands and Flowers, embracing it as if she design'd to grow to it, till her Women took her from thence to a Bath; after which she attir'd her self after a most gorgeous Manner, and eat as sumptuously as she cou'd. After Dinner she clear'd the Room of all except *Iras* and *Charmia*; and having procur'd an Asp to be secretly brought in among Figs, Grapes and Flowers, she apply'd it to her Arm; but just before she sent a Letter to *Cesar*, wherein she much complain'd of her hard Fate, and very earnestly begg'd to be bury'd in the same Tomb with *Anthony*. *Cesar* in all hast sent some Messengers, who found her dead upon a Golden Bed, adorn'd with her Royal Robes, in the Posture of one asleep, with *Iras* also dead at her Feet, and *Charmia* just breathing, and placing her Diadem right. One of the Messengers very angrily ask'd, *Is this well done*, *Charmia*? *Extreamly well*, reply'd she, *and becoming a Princess descended from so noble a Race of Monarchs*; at which she expir'd at her Mistresses Feet. *Cesar* was extreamly troubl'd at *Cleopatra's* Death, as being depriv'd of the noblest Ornament of his Triumph: However, he cou'd not but admire the Greatness of her Courage, who notwithstanding the Weakness of her Sex, preferr'd Death before the Loss of her Liberty, or the Appearing below her Quality. He order'd her a Magnificent Funeral, laying her Body by *Anthony's*, according to her Desire; and her Women were interr'd with considerable Pomp in Memory of their Fidelity. *Egypt* was all reduc'd into a Province, and *Cesar* caus'd his Soldiers to cleanse the Channels of the *Nile*, which much improv'd the Fertility of the Soil: And since this Kingdom much enlarg'd the *Roman* Dominions, especially as to Riches, and his entire Victories brought Peace to the *Roman* State, at his Return he

was receiv'd at *Rome* with an universal Joy, and his Triumph was with all the Pomp and Splendour that could be imagin'd.

II. *Caesar* now finding Himself Lord of the *Roman* Empire, partly by the Authority which the People had at several Times invest'd him with, and partly by the Ruin of his Enemies; after this resolv'd to exercise all the Clemency of a sweet temper'd Prince, and all the Cunning of an exquisite Politician. To assure himself of *Anthony's* Adherents was his first Care, to which End he gave out that he had burnt all *Anthony's* Letters and Papers without reading them; well knowing, that as long as any thought themselves suspected Adversaries, they would never shew themselves real Friends. To the Senators and Magistrates he made sumptuous Feasts; to the Common Sort he exhibited magnificent Shows and Plays; and both he entertain'd with such Variety of Pleasures, as might banish their Sorrows for the old *Proscription*, and remove their Fears of a new. With great Wisdom and Dexterity he regulated many Abuses and Corruptions in the State; and tho' he would not give up the least Part of his Authority, yet he exercis'd it with that Discretion and Moderation, that the Common-wealth was more happy under his Government than when it enjoy'd all its Privileges. He allow'd the People all their due Liberties, only re-trench'd the Liberty of making Factions and Dissentions in the State; and to the Senate he restor'd their ancient Splendour, but banish'd their Corruption: He contented himself with a moderate Power, which would not afford him the Freedom of doing Ill; but he made it Absolute, when it impos'd upon others the Necessity of doing Well. So that the People were not less Free, but in Matters of Sedition; nor the Senate less Powerfull, but in Matters of Injustice; and the *Romans* seem'd to have lost Nothing of the Happiness that Liberty might produce, but only the Misfortunes it might occasion.

Caesar

Cæsar having establish'd so good an Order, found himself extremely embarrass'd with various Thoughts and Opinions, and consider'd a long time with himself, whether he ought to keep the Empire, or restore the People to their first Liberty. The Examples of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæsar* put him to much Trouble, when he consider'd that the former, who had voluntarily quitted his Authority, dy'd peaceably in the midst of his Enemies; and the latter, for retaining of it, was assassinated by his most intimate Friends. But then he consider'd again, that the Common-wealth had been so harass'd and broken by Factions and Civil Wars, that the Yoak would prove their greatest Relief, especially as he would manage it. He found likewise that the People of *Rome* had lost much of their ancient Vigour and Desire of Liberty, and the Senate much of its ancient Firmness and Resolution; and that there were such numerous Corruptions and such dangerous Distempers in the State, that nothing but a Change could cure 'em. As he consider'd that both Senate and People never wanted a Head so much as now, the Advantage of which they were in this little time sensible of, so these Considerations gave him great Hopes, and almost as great Resolutions. However, this most wary Prince thought it most convenient to consult his two intimate Friends *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the former most famous for Valour, and the latter for natural Endowments. *Cæsar* taking these two into his Closet, ask'd their Advice, telling 'em among other Things, *That they were his Friends, therefore he had made 'em his Judges, as Men that were able to speak Soundly, and willing to speak Freely: That he knew 'em to have a greater Care of his Honour than his Profit, but more of the Common-wealth than of both.*

Agrippa return'd the first Answer to this purpose: *You may well admire, my generous Lord, that I, who am certain of an uncommon Promotion under your Empire, should advise you to a private Retirement; but since I esteem your Honour above my own Profit, and the publick*

Good before my particular Preferment, I am sure You will pardon me. You have now gloriously finish'd the Civil Wars, and brought Peace to your Country; but what will the Advantage be, without a Restoration of that Liberty for which those Wars were begun? Or what Benefit can the People reap from so noble a Victory, if it be us'd only as an Instrument for their greater Slavery? A Word so odious to the Roman Nation, that whenever that has seem'd to have been aim'd at by any Person, no Vertues could shield him, no Merits protect him, no Services secure him from the Rage of the People; no, not those of your great Father Julius: And can you hope to escape? But say, That the divine Powers should so protect you as to out-live such Dangers; would you also out-live your Glories? Are you willing that Posterity should brand you with Tyranny, and perhaps with Baseness, in curbing and putting a Stop to the Fame and Grandeur of your Country? A Country which has gain'd all its Renown and Reputation, and owes all its great and glorious Acts to a Government quite contrary to what you seem inclin'd to; and a Government under which other Nations have generally been most prosperous and flourishing. Therefore your Generosity should lead you to set your Country free, and since you are already Master of the World's Forces, and without Rival in the Empire, and have both Senate and People at your Mercy; to do it now would strike all Detraction dumb, and make future Ages stand amaz'd at the Greatness of your Temper.

Mecenas on the other side declar'd his Mind after this Manner: Be not deceiv'd, most noble Prince, with the specious Shew of Words and Names; but since just Heaven has ordain'd you a Father, as well as a Master of your Country, rather hearken to her real Wants and Necessities, than to the fallacious Clamours of the Rabble, who like Children cry for what would prove their Ruin. Our Republick is a Ship fraught with Multitudes of various Nations, and destitute of a Pilot, which for many Years has been miserably toss'd and shatter'd, and is now ready

to be cast away, without your relieving Hand to save it. In former Times indeed this thriving Empire did not seem to want a Monarch; but it is now grown too vast and unwieldy, to subsist without one. Formerly the Strictness of the Roman Discipline and Morality, and the Fears of rival Nations kept the Common-wealth from sinking: Yet in those pure Times, what Commotions in State, what Revolutions in Government, what Divisions and Distractions were occasion'd by the Tribunes Rage and Peoples Madness? Camillus, Rome's second Founder, and Scipio, that Scourge of Carthage, were disgrac'd, and the great Coriolanus banish'd; only because their Worth had lifted 'em above the ordinary Pitch of Subjects. But then to mention all the numerous Troubles and dreadful Miseries of these latter Times, were to revive our Sorrows, which you in a great Measure have alloy'd; and since by your Means your Country has recover'd some of her Spirits, it is your Duty to establish her in perfect Health, which can be no Ways done but by retaining the Empire. And this Advice is not only for the Good of your Country, but also for the Security of your Person; for the Resigning of your Authority wou'd be the Parting with your Safety. Pompey was contemn'd after the Disbanding of his Army at Brundisium; and tho' your Uncle Julius fell, it was not for retaining his Power, but for grasping of it too strongly, which you know better how to manage. In the Gaining of an Empire, there is no Medium between the Death of an Enemy, and the Life of a Prince; and since you have already gone so far, you must resolve either to be Greatest in the State, or Least among the People, to be Cæsar or Nothing.

Cæsar thank'd 'em both for their friendly Advice, and after some dubious Expressions, declar'd himself rather inclin'd to Mecenas's Opinion; withall telling them, That he was but the Instrument of the Destinies, to put their Wills in Execution; and since they had already shewn themselves so favourable to him, he had all the Reason to hope that his Friends wou'd not be backward in

their Councils, or any other necessary Assistance. Upon which *Mecenas* proceeded to give him many wise Instructions and Directions, how to manage his Affairs to the best Advantage, both as to his Countries Happiness and his own Security, as may be seen at large in *Dion Cassius*. Among a great many other Things he told him this as his principal Rule to go by. *Always to preserve the Love of his Subjects, and if he would do exactly as he himself would expect from his Prince, if he were a Subject, then he should not fail of being prosperous in his Designs, happy in his Life, and famous in his History.* He concluded all with telling him, *That if in taking upon him the Sovereign Power, he fear'd the Name of Kingdom as odious, he might omit that, and manage all under the Title of Cæsar: If he thought not that sufficient, they would give him that of Imperator, and would adorn him with some other venerable Note of Honour, so that he might enjoy all the Privileges of a Kingdom without the envious Name of King, which the Romans could not endure.* All these Things confirm'd *Cæsar* in his former Opinions, and from this time he began to pursue his Designs with more Care and Diligence than ever.

III. The Romans were now arriv'd to their utmost Height as to polite Learning, and an exquisite Taste of Things, as appears from their Writings: For besides *Virgil*, formerly mention'd, at this time flourish'd the two great Wits, *Ovid* and *Horace*, the pleasantest and perfectest Poets in their Kinds; and likewise *Livy*, the Prince of all the Roman Historians; all which had a great Share in *Cæsar's* Familiarity, as well as *Mecenas's*. *Cæsar* was a great Promoter of all sorts of Learning, and having shut up the Temple of *Janus*, which had been open 205 Years, he had a fairer Opportunity both of encouraging that, and of following his other Designs. He had an admirable Faculty of discerning and penetrating into the Humours and Ambitions of the principal

principal Men; in which he was much help'd by the Letters found in *Anthony's* Coffers, which he carefully kept, and secretly made use of as he found Occasion. As for Words and Libels, *Cæsar* took little or no Notice of, having learnt that both from his Uncle *Julius* and *Mecænas*, *Never to be concern'd at what was spoken against him.* And this Maxim he found much to his Advantage; for by this he not only knew the Minds of the People more easily, but perceiv'd that as long as the common Sort retain'd this Liberty of Speech, they were the less sensible of the Loss of Liberty in State.

Cæsar was now in his fifth Consulship, and by the Advice of *Mecænas*, he took upon him the Title of *Imperator*, not in that Sense it was anciently wont to be given for Victories obtain'd, but in respect of the chief Command, or Authority, as it had been Decreed to his Uncle *Julius*. And the Industry of *Agrippa* was no less Serviceable to him than the Counsels of *Mecænas*; and notwithstanding he had at first advis'd him to contrary Methods, he now prov'd as usefull an Assistant as the other. Soon after he was made *Censor*, and *Agrippa* with him; and among other things belonging to his Office, he took great Care to purge and reform the Senate, into which many *Equites* and unworthy *Plebeians* had crept, during the late Civil Wars; and then encreas'd their Number to a Thousand, which his Uncle had brought to nine Hundred. All this he did with great Moderation and Discretion, always shewing much Respect to that venerable Assembly; and tho' he continually diminish'd their Power, he still preserv'd their ancient Dignity, well knowing that *Julius's* Contempt of the Senate, did most of all forward his Ruin. He put two Persons; Namely, *Cluilius* and *Furnius* into the Rank of *Consulares*, because they had been design'd for Consuls, tho' prevented by others: He also ranked certain Families among the *Patritians*, because most of those had perish'd in the Wars. One great Way of bridling

1000 Senators.

the Nobility was his publishing an Edict, forbidding any *Senator* to Travel out of *Italy* without his Leave; a thing very strictly observ'd by his Successors; For he well knew that the Presence and Authority of Men of that Rank might raise great Commotions in an unsettled State. Yet not wholly to imprison 'em, he gave 'em Liberty to visit *Sicily*, and *Gallia Narbonensis*, Provinces close to the Continent of *Italy*, altogether unfurnish'd for Wars, and by reason of their Variety of Pleasures, more likely to weaken their Minds than to arm their Bodies.

U. C.
726.

Cæsar being now in his sixth Consulship, together with *Agrippa* his Colleague, made a *Lustrum*, which was 41 Years after the last Celebration of one, and in this 463000 Free Citizens were cens'd, the most that ever we find before; to which if Women, Children, Servants, Slaves, and the like were added, they cou'd not probably be less than three or four Millions; especially if we consider the prodigious Bigness of the City, which good Authors affirm to have been fifty Miles in Compass at this time. *Cæsar* likewise celebrated Games, which had been Decreed in Memory of his Victory at *Actium*, and it was order'd they shou'd be renew'd every fifth Year, four Colleges of Priests taking care of 'em; namely, the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Septemviri*, and *Quindecimviri* by Courses. He caus'd many other delightfull Games and Exercises to be made, all at his own Cost and Charges, using all possible Methods to divert the People from fixing their Minds upon his Actions, and their old Freedom. He order'd that two Persons of *Prætorian* Rank shou'd Yearly over-see the Treasury, and gave to the People four times as much Corn as they were wont to have; to some *Senators* he gave Money, some of this Rank being so poor, that they cou'd not bear Offices belonging to 'em. All Engagements and Debts to the Exchequer he made void that stood good before the Battel at *Actium*, except what concern'd Buildings. He suffer'd no Sacrifice

ficeto be offer'd to *Egyptian* Gods within the *Pomærium*, and took great Care about settling Religion, and repairing of the Temples. And because many unjust Things had been ordain'd during the late Seditions and Civil Wars, especially in the *Triumvirate*, he made 'em all void by one Edict, and caus'd 'em to cease from his sixth Consulship. Thus *Cæsar* more and more settled the Peace of the City, and gain'd the Hearts and Affections of the People.

IV. *Cæsar* now entring upon his seventh Consulship, and finding all Matters ripe for his Purpose, he went to the Senate-House, after he had prepar'd all the Senators who were for his Interest, and in a studied Speech spoke to this Effect. *When I consider with my self the immense Greatness, and boundless Extent of the Roman Empire, I am stricken with Surprise, yea and Amazement, to imagine that any Mortal dare undertake the sole Administration of so vast a State. What Nation have not either begg'd Peace at our Gates, or felt the Fury of our Arms at their own? And what Countries have not we conquer'd and brought to Subjection; making the Rising and Setting of the Sun, the Bounds of our Dominions? Therefore it must proceed from a wild and extravagant Opinion of their own Abilities, who pretended to bare that Burden which none but the immortal Gods cou'd sustain. As for my own Part, who may with Modesty affirm, that I have put an End to all domestick Wars, and have brought Peace to the City, dare not presume to attempt it. Tho' I am invited to it by all the powerfull Charms of commanding the greatest People upon Earth, and the most glorious Empire next Heaven, and also inticed by the fairest Opportunity of establishing my self that ever Roman had; yet I freely divest my self of all that Power and Authority, which my Arms have gain'd, and you have given me: An Action which I presume is no less glorious than just, far exceeding the Conquests of Gaul, of Britain and of Ægypt; an Action no less hardy than those*

U. C.
727.

those bold ones of Coecles, of Scaevola, of Curtius, of Regulus, and of the Decii. And further to shew ye, that the true Spirit of the ancient Romans is not extinct in me; I do not only restore ye all your former Laws and Privileges, and such Things as I have been intrusted with, but likewise all that I have further Acquir'd since my first Authority; and may this Action prove auspicious and fortunate to my Country.

Caesar enlarg'd much upon the Particulars, and upon the finishing his Speech, the Minds of the Senators were variously affected. Many knew his Design, and therefore agreed with his Intentions; the rest either suspected his Aim, or believ'd his Words. Of these some admir'd his Policy in concealing his Purposes; others were troubl'd at his Design, some at his Cunning, and others at his Refusal of the Government. Many, indeed, hated the popular Form of Government as dangerous in these Times, and approv'd of the Change, being well pleas'd with Caesar's Administration. Most of the Rest being worn and weary'd out with their many vain Strugglings for their Liberty, and glad of a little Rest, chose rather the Present Estate with Security, than to strive to recover the Old with Danger. So that the Product of their several Affections were the same; for those that wish'd he was reduc'd to a private Condition, were very fearfull of what might follow; and such as desir'd he might retain his Power, were as sorry for the Loss of their Hopes. Neither cou'd they that did not believe him reprehend him, for some wanted the Will, and others the Courage to do it. No Man, whether he believ'd his Speech or not, durst commend it, because a great many were displeas'd with it, and as many afraid of it. Wherefore, having often interrupted him whilst speaking, soon after he had done, they unanimously besought him with many Words and Entreaties, *That he alone will take the Government upon him;* and after many Arguments and Persuasions, they compell'd him, as it were, to accept of the Sovereignty.

ty. And that his Person might be more safely preserv'd, they immediately decreed the Pay of his Guard to be double to that of all other Soldiers.

Thus *Cæsar*, by his Artifice of pretending to lay down all his Power and Authority, got it confirm'd to him both by Senate and People. Yet that he might seem to be Popular, he refus'd to govern all the Provinces, or to have a perpetual Power over such as he should take care of: Therefore the weaker and inward Provinces, being in a more peaceable Posture, he left to the Senate; the most powerfull and outward Provinces, and those most expos'd to Enemies, he kept himself, saying, *That he desir'd that the Fathers might enjoy their Power with all Ease and Safety, while he himself shou'd undergo all the Labour and Danger.* But by this politick Contrivance he render'd the Senate useless and of no Effect, and by this he engross'd all the Soldiers and Militia to himself. To the Senate and People were left *Africk* and *Numidia*, *Libya* call'd *Cyrenaica*, *Asia Minor*, *Greece* with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and that part of *Spain* call'd *Batica*. *Cæsar* kept the rest of *Spain*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, as also *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, &c. which were Frontier Provinces. Over these Provinces he assum'd the Government but for ten Years, well remembring how dangerous the Word *Perpetual* had been to his Uncle *Julius*; and adding, *That as soon as he cou'd quiet them he wou'd quit his Power.* Then did he set over the Provinces of both sorts Men of *Patritian* Dignity, but over *Agypt* one of the *Equestrian* Rank only, and with the lowest Title of all other Governours, fearing lest a great Man presuming upon the Wealth and Situation of that Country, should prove dangerous to the *Roman* State. He allotted *Africk* and *Asia* to Senators, and the rest of the Provinces to *Prætorians*; but forbidding either to take upon 'em this Employment within five Years after they had born Offices in the City. They held their Government but for a Year; and as soon as Successors were

were sent 'em, they were immediately to depart the Provinces, and not to fail of being at Rome within three Months at farthest.

As soon as *Cæsar* had but made his Oration about resigning his Command, and distributing the Provinces, many Honours were conferr'd on him, as that Laurel shou'd be planted before his Gates in the *Palatium*, and upon those Trees Oaken Garlands to be hung, as for one who was a perpetual Conqueror of Enemies and Preserver of Citizens. The House of the Emperor also

Palatium. was for the future call'd the *Palatium* or *Palace*, not by any Decree, but because *Cæsar* liv'd on the *Palatium* or *Palatine Hill*, and there was his *Prætorium*: His House also receiv'd some Dignity from the Mount it-self, because *Romulus* liv'd there; therefore afterwards, if the Emperors were remov'd else where, yet the Houses were still call'd *Palatia* or *Palaces*. Just after the Provinces were divided, and all things settled, it was debated in the Senate, Whether *Cæsar* ought to have the Title of *Romulus*, because he had founded the Empire;

Augustus. but the more venerable Name of *AUGUSTUS* propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, at length seem'd best, for sacred Places and Temples consecrated by *Augurs* were term'd *Augusta* by the *Romans*. *Cæsar*, tho' he much desir'd that of *Romulus*, yet perceiving he shou'd be suspected of affecting the Kingdom, declin'd it, and was surnam'd *Augustus*, intimating something in him more than *Mortal*; and this he accepted of, as a Title expressing more Dignity and Reverence, than Authority. And Things are call'd *Augusta*, which are most worthy of Honour, and most Sacred; wherefore the *Greeks* express it by *Σέβας*, as if they shou'd say *Venerable*. From this Day forward began the Sovereign Power and Authority to be in the Hands of one Man, and by a Law call'd *Lex Regia*, all the Power of the People and Senate was transferr'd upon *Augustus*. When his ten Years were out, ten more were added, and after that as many more, so that he had his Authority

thority still continu'd for his Life; for which Cause his Successors, tho' they had the Power settled on 'em for Life, yet at the End of every ten Years, solemniz'd as it were the Renewing of it. This great Change of Government happen'd in the 727th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3978, in the second Year of the 138th Olympiad, 482 Years since the Beginning of the Consular State, 303 since the Beginning of the Macedonian Empire, 33 since the Beginning of the Mix'd State, 17 since the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, and 25 before our Saviour's Nativity.

Here ended the greatest Common-wealth in the World; and at the same time began the greatest Monarchy; a Monarchy so well fix'd, and firmly settled, that not all the tyrannical Carriage of those Monsters of Men that succeeded *Augustus*, cou'd shake it; a Monarchy, which if it be consider'd with others, as to its Power and Riches, together with its Extent and Continuance, there is scarce any room left for Comparison; and a Monarchy which the *Romans*, for many Years, believ'd Indissoluble and Immortal. The *Roman* Dominions were now almost brought to their utmost Extent, containing all *Italy* with *Gallia Cis-Alpina*, which two *Augustus* made into one general Province; all *Gaul* and *Spain*, with part of *Germany* and *Britain*; all *Greece* and *Illyricum*, with *Dacia* and *Pannonia* in the greatest Part; all those Provinces which went under the Name of *Asia Minor*, with *Armenia*, *Syria* and *Judæa*; all *Egypt*, with *Africk*, *Numidia* and *Lybia*; besides many Islands, and some Parts of other Provinces. All which comprehended the greatest, and far the best Part of *Europe*, with very large Parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, being no less than between 3 and 4000 Miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly Revenues of the Empire, by a moderate Computation, it has been reckon'd at nigh forty Millions of our Money, whereof *Gaul* paid five, and that without being extreamly burdenson to the People. But what still

makes

makes it seem greater, is what *Vespasian* told the Senate at his coming to the Empire, that he wanted 40000000 of *Sestertium's* to settle the Common-wealth, which amounts to 312000000 of our Money.

As for the *Romans* themselves, they had now nothing so elevated a Temper, either for the Greatness of Genius, or the Force of the Soul, as in some Time in the Republick; but had something more Polite and Sociable; and never were more glorious, or at least, more pleasant Times than now, all Wars and Contests ceasing, all Arts and Sciences flourishing, and all Riches and Pleasures increasing. In short, *Augustus* made the World happy, and was happy in the World; he had nothing to desire of the Publick, nor the Publick of him: And considering the Evils he occasion'd before he came to the Empire, and the Good he did since he was Emperor, it was said with good Reason, *That he shou'd never have been born, or never have dy'd.* But for his Actions afterwards, and his further Settlement of the Empire, I must leave to a Fourth Book of this History, if the World shall be so kind as to give a proportionable Encouragement to these Three now done.

F I N I S.



An INDEX of the principal Things, relating more particularly to the An- cient Magistrates, Laws, Customs, &c. of Rome.

A.

Actio Juris. Pag. 113.
Edilis. 183.
Edilis Curulia. 148, 149, 355.
Agrovia Lex. 96.
Aprilis. 23.
Augustus. 428.

C.

Candidate. 80.
Capitol. 37, 49.
Celer. 11.
Censor. 124, 152, 354.
Census. 41, 42.
Centuria. 41.
Classus. 41.
Client. 9.
Clauca. 37.
Comitia Centurista. 42.
Comitia Curiata. 9.
Comitia Tributa. 102.
Consul. 59, 60, 65, 147, 252,
 307, 354.
Curia. 8.

D.

December. 24.
Decemviri. 110.
Decuria. 9.
Dictator. 74, 75, 76, 151,
 204, 207, 266, 345, 352,
 367.
Duumviri. 28.

B.

Equites. 241, 242.
F.
Februarius. 23.
Fecial. 21, 31, 32.

L.

Januarius. 23.
Janus. 21.
Imperator. 353, 354, 423.
Interex. 18.
Jugum. 106.
Julian Year. 350, 351.
July. 24, 355.
June. 24.
Jupiter Feretrius. 12.
Jupiter Indiges. 3.
Jus Civile. 113.
Jus Honorarium. 113.

L.

Legatus. 115.
Legio. 14.
Liſtor. 11.
Ludi Fescennini. 150, 192.
Ludi Saculares. 192.
Ludi Terentini. 193.
Lustrum. 42, 124.

M.

Magister Equitum. 75, 345.
Mais. 24.

Mancipium.

INDEX.

Manicipium. 43.
Manipulares. 6.
Mars. 23.
Mercedonius. 27.
Months. 23, 24.

N.

November. 24.
Nundina. 16.

O.

October. 24.
Opima Spolia. 12, 126, 196.
Ovation. 71.

P.

Pagus. 22.
Palatium. 428.
Patres Conscripti. 10.
Patres Minorum Gentium. 35.
Patritius. 9.
Patronus. 9.
Pecunia. 44.
Plebeius. 9.
Plebiscitum. 113.
Pomarium. 7.
Pompilian Year. 23, 24.
Pontifex. 21.
Præfectus Urbis. 10.
Prætor. 147, 148, 160, 195,
 219, 354.
Principalis Constitutio. 113.
Publicanus. 242.

Q.

Quæstor. 65, 129, 354.
Quintilis. 24, 355.

Quirinus. 17.
Quirites. 14.

R.

Rex. 18.
Rex Sacrorum. 53.
Rostra. 160.

S.

Salus. 21.
Saturnus. 191.
Senatus. 10, 14, 35, 354, 423.
Senatus Consultum. 113.
September. 24.
Sentilis. 24.
Slaves. 43.
Sybil's Books. 50.

T.

Tarpeia Rupes. 13.
Tribe. 8, 15, 41, 70, 143, 151,
 161, 165, 167, 192.
Tribuni Militum. 123, 128, 131,
 147.
Tribuni Plebis. 83, 84, 87, 89,
 90, 106, 166, 345.
Tribunus Celerum. 11.
Triumphus. 71.
Triumvirate First. 289.
Triumvirate Second. 370, 371.
Triumviri Capitales. 169.
Twelve Tables. 112.

V.

Vestal Virgins. 21, 35.
Vindicta. 63.

An INDEX of some of the Principal Men and Matters in this History.

A.

Actium, see *Battel*.

Emilius Paulus, his Acts in the Second *Macedonian* War, pag. 227, 228.

Aeneas, his Arrival in *Italy*, p. 3.

Allobrogick War, p. 246.

Ancus Martius, the fourth King of *Rome*, his Reign, p. 25, to 30.

Anthony, his Proceedings upon *Julius Caesar's* Death, p. 362, to 366. He is beaten at *Mutina*, 368. He joyns in the Second *Triumvirate*, 370. His Acts against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, 377, 378. Falls in love with *Cleopatra*, 382, 383. His luxurious Life with her, 386, 387, 398, 399, 400, 401. His Marriage with *Octavia*, 388. He is worsted at *Actium*, 406. His Death, 410, to 413.

Antiochian War, p. 221, to 224.

Augustus Caesar, his Management upon *Julius Caesar's* Death, p. 366, to 368. Falls out with the *Senate*, 369. Joyns in the Second *Triumvirate*, 370, to 374. Goes against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, 374, to 378. His War with *Lucius*, 385, 386. His War with young *Pompey*, 389, 391, 392, 393. Falls out with *Anthony*, 399, &c. Beats him at *Actium*, 406. Reduces all *Egypt*, 417. His Consultation with *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, 419, to 422. His Settlement of the *Roman* Empire, 425, to 429.

B.

Battels. At *Actium*, p. 404, to 406. At *Allia*, 136, 137. At *Canna*, 205, 206. At *Dyrrachium*, 331. At *Munda*, 352. At *Pharsalia*, 335, to 339. At *Philippi*, 376, to 378. At *Regillus*, 76, 77.

Brutus, *Lucius Junius*, his first Acts, p. 47, 48. He overthrows the Kingdom of *Rome*, 52, to 55. Causes his Sons to be executed, 62, 63. His Death, 64.

Brutus, *Marcus*, together with *Cassius*, kills *Julius Caesar*, p. 358, to 361. The Defeats and Deaths of him and *Cassius*, 376, to 378.

C.

Camillus, *Furius*, takes *Veii*, p. 132. His Generosity at *Falisci*, 134. His Banishment, 135. He saves his Country, 141, 142. His After-Acts, 144, to 149.

F f

Carthagi-

I N D E X.

Carthaginian War, see *Punick War*.

Cassius, see *Brutus, Marcus*.

Catiline, his Conspiracy and Death, p. 282, to 288.

Cato, his Speech against *Catiline*, p. 286, 287. His Death, 348.

Cicero, declares for *Pompey*, p. 275. against *Catiline*, 282, to 288. His Banishment, 292, to 294. His Restoration, 297.

His Death and Character, 371, 372.

Cimbrian War, p. 250, 251.

Cincinnatus, Quintius, his Story, p. 104, to 106.

Cinna, his Actions in the first Civil War, and Death, p. 258, to 261.

Civil War, the first, between *Marius* and *Sylla*, p. 257, to 269. The second, between *Cesar* and *Pompey*, 314, to 339.

The third, between the Second *Triumvirate* and *Brutus* and *Cassius*, 374, to 378. The fourth, between *Augustus* and *Anthony*, 399, to 406.

Clodia, her Bravery, p. 68, 69.

Cleopatra, her Interview with *Julius Caesar*, p. 342, 343.

Her first Meeting with *Anthony*, 382, 383. Her great Designs, 407. Her Behaviour towards *Cesar* and Death, 414, to 417.

Coecles, his Valour, p. 67.

Coriolanus, his Valour, p. 86. His Trial and Banishment, 89, 90. His After Acts and Death, 91, to 94.

Crassus, against *Sparticus*, p. 271. Joyns in the first *Triumvirate*, (283). His Eastern Expedition and Death, 303, to 305.

Curtius, his Bravery, p. 150.

D.

Decius Mus, his great Love to his Country, p. 138.

Decius Mus, his Son, his like Practice, p. 168.

Drusus his Design and Death, p. 253.

E.

Ellii, their Valour and Death, p. 97, 98.

Fabius Maximus, his Management against *Hannibal*, p. 203, to 205.

Fabricius, his Steadiness and Generosity, p. 173, to 175.

G.

Gracchus, Caius, his Attempts and Death, p. 240, to 244.

Gracchus Tiberius, his elder Brother, his Attempts and Death, p. 236, to 239.

H.

Hannibal, his Passage over the *Alps*, p. 199, 200. His great Successes against the *Romans*, 200, to 206. He declines, 207, to 215. And is beaten by *Scipio*, 216, 217. His Death, 225, 226.

Hora-

I N D E X.

Horatii, and *Curatii*, their Combate for their Country,
p. 27, 28. I.

Illyrian War, p. 104, 105.

Jugurthian War, p. 247, to 250.

Julius Caesar, his Management in *Catiline's Conspiracy*,
p. 286. His first Acts in *Spain*, (281,) (282.) He joyns in the
first *Triumvirate*, (284,) (285.) His first Consulship, 290, to
292. His Expeditions against the *Gauls*, *Germans* and *Brit-
tains*, 294, to 302; and 308, 309. Against *Affranius* and *Pe-
treius* in *Spain*, 320, to 322. Against *Pompey* in *Italy*, 314, to
319. Against him in *Greece*, &c. 325, to 339. His Wars in
Egypt and Love to *Cleopatra*, 342, to 345. Against *Pharna-
ces*, 345, to 347. In *Africk*, 347, 348. His Triumph, 349,
350. Against *Pompey's Sons* in *Spain*, 351, to 353. His great
Honours, and Acts at Home, 353, to 358. His Death and
Character, 358, to 361. L.

Lepidus, joyns in the second *Triumvirate*, p. 370. His
Disgrace and Banishment, 393, 394.

Lucretia, her Rape and Death, p. 51, 52.

Lucullus, his Acts against *Mithridates*, p. 269, to 273.

M.

Macedonian War, the first, p. 218, to 221. The 2d. 226, to 228.

Manlius Capitolinus, his Valour, p. 141. His Trial and
Death, 143, 144.

Manlius Torquatus, his Combate, p. 150, 151. His severe
Justice, 158.

Marcellus his Acts in *Sicily*, p. 208, 209.

Marinus, his Acts against *Jugurtha*, p. 249, 250. Against
the *Cimbrians*, 250, 251. In the Social War, 255. In the
first Civil War, with his Death, 257, to 260.

Masanissa, his Story, p. 214, 215.

Menenius Agrippa, his Managing of the Commons, p. 81, 82.

Metellus Numidicus, his Acts against *Jugurtha*, p. 248,
249. His Troubles, 251, 252.

Mithridatick War, the first, p. 256, and 260. The second,
266, 267. The third, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 277, 279, 280.

N.

Numa Pompilius, the second King of *Rome*, his Reign,
p. 18. to 24. P.

Papyrius Cursor, his Acts against the *Samnites*, p. 163,
165, 166.

Pompey the Great, his Acts in the first Civil War, p. 263,
264. In *Africk*, 264. Against *Sertorius* in *Spain*, 268, 269,
Against the Pirates, 273, 274. Against *Mithridates*, *Tigranes*,
and

I N D E X.

and other Princes in the *East*, 276, 281. His Triumph, (282.) (283.) Joyns in the first *Triumvirate*, (284.) 285.) His sole Consulship, 307. He falls out with *Julius Caesar*, 312, 313. His Death, 340.

Pompey, Sextus, his Son, his Wars against *Julius Caesar*, p. 351, to 353. His Wars with *Augustus* and Death, 390, to 394.

Poplicola, his several Acts and Death, p. 61, to 70.

Porfena, King of *Hetruria*, besieges *Rome*, p. 66, to 69.

Punick, or *Carthaginian War*, the first, p. 184, to 192. The second, 198, to 217. The third, 229, to 232.

Pyrrhus, King of *Epirus*, his Successes against the *Romans*, p. 171, to 175. His Losses and Retreat, 177, to 179.

R.

Regulus, his Acts against the *Carthaginians*, p. 186, 187. His great Bravery and Death, p. 189, 190.

Romulus his Birth, p. 5. Founds the City, 7. His Reign, 8, to 18.

S.

Saturninus, his Sedition and Death, p. 251, 252.

Scævola, Mutius, his bold Attempt, p. 67, 68.

Scipio Africanus, his first Rise, p. 211. His Success in *Spain*, 213. And in *Africk*, 214, 215. Where he beats *Hannibal*, 216, 217. His Retirement and Death, 224, 225.

Scipio Africanus, the Younger, his Success against the *Carthaginians*, p. 231, 232. And in *Spain*, 235. His Death, 240, 241.

Sertorius, his Acts and Death, p. 268, 269.

Servius Tullius, the 6th King of *Rome*, his Reign, p. 39, to 46.

Siccius Dentatus, his Speech, Acts, & Death, p. 108, 115, 116.

Social War, p. 253, to 256.

Sparticus, his Rebellion, p. 270, 271.

Sylla, his Acts in the *Social War*, p. 255, 256. Against *Mithridates*, 260. In the first Civil War, 261, to 264. His Proscriptions, 264, 265. His Perpetual Dictatorship and Death, 265, to 267.

T.

Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of *Rome*, his Reign, p. 34, to 38.

Tarquinius Superbus, the 7th. and last King of *Rome*, his Reign, p. 46, to 55. His After-Acts, 60, 64, 66, 68, 71, 72, 77.

Tatius, King of *Rome* with *Romulus*, p. 14, 15.

Tigranes, King of *Armenia*, his Wars with the *Romans*, p. 271, 272, 278.

Tullus Hostilius, the 3d. King of *Rome*, his Reign, p. 25, to 30.

V.

Valerius Corvinus, his Combate, p. 133.

Virginia, her Tragical Story, p. 116, 117.

